

ओ३म् ।

## अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ।

### BOOK FOURTH.

#### CHAPTER FIRST.

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ङ्भाप्प्रातिपदिकात् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ ङी-भाप्-प्रातिपदिकात् ॥

धृतिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आपञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेऽर्थाप्प्रातिपदिकारित्येवं  
संदेहितव्यम् ॥

1. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with the feminine affixes ङी, or भाप्, or after a Nominal stem.

This is an 'adhikāra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing. In other words, this sūtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sūtra, and ending with कप् (V. 4. 151), are to be applied.

The sūtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन् ॥ The term भाप्, is the common name for the three affixes दाप्, डाप् and चाप् ॥ These are feminine affixes and are taught from sūtra 4 to 65 of this chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'a Nominal stem' and has been defined in sūtra I. 2. 45, 46, i. e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Tad-dhita affix. The word ङ्भाप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Samāhāra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Q. All affixes are placed after the base (See Sūtra III. 1. 2); the affixes treated of in the last Book were to be placed after the root ('dhātu'); the remaining affixes taught in Books Fourth and Fifth, will therefore, be placed after all such bases प्रकृति which are not roots (dhātu); and such bases remaining are prātipadika and feminine words. What is then the necessity

of making this sūtra, when these prātipadika, &c., are the only bases left to us to apply the affixes taught herein-after ?

A. To this we reply, the necessity of making this sūtra arose from the following considerations: that the word क्वाप् प्रतिपदिकात् should qualify the words 'वृद्ध' 'भवृद्ध', 'the letter अ,' 'अनुदात्तादि', and 'झप्,' wherever used in the following sūtras. So that, where a rule says: "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word," we must understand it to mean, "let such an affix be applied to a Vṛiddha word which is a prātipadika, or which ends with 'hi' or 'āp'; and not to every Vṛiddha word." The principal aphorism, besides the present, which regulates the application of Taddhita affixes, is IV. 1. 82, which declares:—"The taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction." Thus IV. 1. 157 says;—"The affix किम् is added, according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, in the sense of 'descendant,' after a word which is entitled to the designation of Vṛiddham, provided it does not end with a Gotra affix." Thus the idea, 'the son of Amragupta,' may be expressed either by the phrase 'आम्रगुप्तपुत्र्यम्'; or by adding the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction, viz, 'āmraguptasya,' which is a Vṛiddha word (I. 1. 73). But can we apply the affix 'phiñ' to the first of the word in construction in the following, 'ज्ञानाम् ब्राह्मणानामपत्यम्', because the word 'jñānām' the genitive plural of 'jñā', is a Vṛiddha word? Certainly not, because the word 'prātipadikāt' must be read into this sūtra IV. 1. 157, and the affix 'phiñ' should be added after that Vṛiddha word which is in its crude-form also a Vṛiddham, and not that which becomes Vṛiddham only in construction. Now the prātipadika of 'jñānām' is 'jñā', the latter is not a vṛiddham, therefore, the rule does not apply to it. So also the word 'jñā' is a vṛiddham in its prātipadika state; but in the following phrase, it loses its vṛiddha nature; 'ज्ञथो ब्राह्मणोरपत्यम्' meaning 'the son of two wise Brāhman ladies'. Still the affix 'phiñ' must be added to the word 'jñyor', because its prātipadika is a vṛiddha word. (2) Similarly the word 'भवृद्ध' (sūtra IV. 1. 160; 'the affix phiñ is applied diversely to a non-vṛiddha word, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; otherwise it would lead to similar incongruous results as in the last aphorism. (3) Similarly the word अत् in Sūtra IV. 1. 95 ('the affix इम् is added after a word which ends in the letter अ') must be qualified by the word 'prātipadika'; that is to say, the word in its crude-form must end in अ, and not necessarily when it is in construction. If it were not so; then the affix 'इम्' will apply only to the word 'इक्षत्य' in 'इक्षत्थापत्यम्' but will not apply to the words 'इक्षयोः', or 'इक्षानाम्' in the phrases 'इक्षयोःपत्यम्' or 'इक्षानामपत्यम्' ॥ But the affix 'इम्' applies to all these three words,

(4). Similarly the word 'अनुवाचतेः' in IV. 2. 44, (the affix 'अम्' is added to a word which has the grave accent on its beginning), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its crude form must have the grave accent on its initial, though in construction, it may or may not have grave accent. Otherwise, the affix 'इम्' will apply to the words 'वाचः' and 'स्वचा' which in construction are anudâttâdi as in 'वाचो विकारः' 'स्वचो विकारः' (VI. 1. 168); but which in their crude-forms (वाक्, स्वच्) are udâttâdi. And conversely, the affix 'अम्,' will not apply to the word 'सर्वेषाम्' which in construction is udâttâdi, as, 'सर्वेषाम् विकारः,' but which in its crude-form is anudâttâdi.

(5). Similarly the word 'म्यच्' in IV. 4. 7, (the affix 'उद्' is employed after words consisting of two vowels, when the sense is that of crossing), must be qualified by the word prâtipadika. That is, the word in its prâtipadika state must consist of two vowels, though in construction it may consist of more than two syllables. Otherwise, this affix will not apply to the word एतेन in the phrase 'एतेन तरति,' while it will apply to the words 'वाचा' and 'स्वचा' in the phrases, 'वाचा तरति,' 'स्वचा तरति.' But this is undesirable.

Q Why have we employed the word 'hy-âp' in the aphorism? Is not the word prâtipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhâshâ:—"A prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender."?

A. Not so. The paribhâshâ you quote applies to that case, where there is a rule, relating to an individual word-form, given in the Sûtra itself. In other words, "this paribhâshâ is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prâtipadikas generally (as the word 'prâtipadika' does in this sûtra) or denotes a particular prâtipadika, (such as the words वा, सन्ति, पति, बलि, and जयति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II. 1. 67, the masculine form yuvâ, also includes the feminine : but not so every-where. Moreover the words, डी, भाप् have been employed in the Sûtra, in order to make the Taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (डी) or long आ (भाप्). Thus the feminine of 'काल', and 'हरिण' is, 'काली', and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्वा' and 'माल' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'. After these words we can apply the Taddhita affix तरप् : as 'कालितर', हरिणितर', खट्वातर', and 'मालातर' ॥

Now, had we not used the word 'hy-âp' in the Sûtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kalitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

Q. The word काल takes डीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when वरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI. 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितप् ॥ Why do you then say that the Taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words न्य-अप् ?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. Thus, when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली ; and when comparison alone is meant and not feminine, we shall have कालतर; but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty; and according to the general maxim, the Taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word न्य-अप्, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

स्वौजसमौद्छष्टाभ्याम्भिस्ङेभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसिभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योस्सुप् ॥ २ ॥  
पदानि ॥ सु-औ-जस्, अम-औद्-शस्, वा-भ्यां-मिस्, ङे-भ्यां-भ्यस्, ङसि-भ्यां-भ्यस्,  
ङस् ओस्-आम्, ङि-ओस्-सुप् ( ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् स्वाद्यः प्रत्ययाः भवन्ति ॥

2. (After what ends with the feminine terminations डी or आप, or after a Nominal stem the following case affixes are employed for declension) :—

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	tā (ā)	bhyām	bhis
4th.	he (e)	bhyām	bhyas
5th.	hasi (as)	bhyām	bhyas
6th.	has (as)	os	ām
7th.	hi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like ण् in सु are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final ण् is employed for the sake of forming the pratyāhāra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes. The force and meaning of these affixes have already been explained in a former part of this work ; and therefore, need not be repeated here. We shall now give examples of the application of these affixes to words formed by डीप्, as, कुमारि ; by डीप् as, गौरी ; by डीप् as चार्द्धस्त्री ; by वप् as लङ्गा ; by ङप् as बहुलाङ्गा ; and by चप् as कारीर-गन्ध्या ; and lastly to a prātipadika. as. वृषट् ।



		कुमारी ।		
		Singular	Dual	Plural
1st	कुमारी	कुमारी	कुमार्यौ	कुमार्यः
2nd	कुमारीम्	कुमारीम्	कुमार्यौ	कुमारीः
3rd	कुमार्या	कुमार्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभिः
4th	कुमार्यै	कुमार्यै	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
5th	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याः	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमारीभ्यः
6th	कुमार्योः	कुमार्योः	कुमार्योः	कुमारीणाम्
7th	कुमार्याम्	कुमार्याम्	कुमार्योः	कुमारीषु
		खट्वा ।		
1st	खट्वा	खट्वा	खट्वे	खट्वाः
2nd	खट्वाम्	खट्वाम्	खट्वे	खट्वाः
3rd	खट्वाया	खट्वाया	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभिः
4th	खट्वायै	खट्वायै	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
5th	खट्वायाः	खट्वायाः	खट्वाभ्याम्	खट्वाभ्यः
6th	खट्वायोः	खट्वायोः	खट्वायोः	खट्वाणाम्
7th	खट्वायाम्	खट्वायाम्	खट्वायोः	खट्वासु
		इषद् ।		
1st	इषद्	इषद्	इषदौ	इषदाः
2nd	इषदम्	इषदम्	इषदौ	इषदाः
3rd	इषदा	इषदा	इषद्भ्याम्	इषदाभिः
4th	इषदै	इषदै	इषद्भ्याम्	इषद्भ्यः
5th	इषदाः	इषदाः	इषद्भ्याम्	इषद्भ्यः
6th	इषदोः	इषदोः	इषदोः	इषदाणाम्
7th	इषदाम्	इषदाम्	इषदोः	इषदसु

The words गौरी and चार्ङ्गरी are declined like कुमारी ; and बहुपञ्चा and कारीपगन्ध्या are declined like खट्वा ॥

स्त्रियाम् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोपेयम् । यस्मिन् कर्म्मण्यनुकर्मिण्यामः स्त्रियामित्येव तद्वदितव्यम् ॥

3. When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes which we shall treat of hereinafter must be employed.

This is an adhikāra sūtra pure and simple. The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated', must be read in all the following aphorisms upto 81 inclusive. The anuvṛitti of the word 'prātipadika' should be read into this sūtra, from the first sūtra, not so, however, the anuvṛitti of the words 'ङी-आप्' ; for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and आप् affixes.

अजाद्यतष्टाप् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजादि-अतः-टाप् ( स्त्रियाश्च ऊष्वाण्याः ) ॥

शुद्धिः ॥ अजादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽकारान्ताश्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां टाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the Nominal-stem 'aja' &c, and after the stems ending in short अ ॥

Of the affix टाप्, the letters ट् and प् are ह्रस्व, the real affix is आ ॥ The letter प् indicates that the affix has anudatta accent (III. 1. 4); the letter ट् is employed to distinguish this affix from चाप् and डाप् ॥

The words अज &c, are given below. Thus अज 'a he goat,' अजा 'a she-goat'. The words ending in short अ are such as, देवदत्त whose feminine will be देवदत्ता ॥ The word अन् is used in the aphorism, the indicatory न् shows (I. 1. 70) that the short अ having one mâtira should be taken; and not the long आ ॥ Prâtipadikas that end in long आ, such as कीलालया or शुभया (III. 2. 74) do not form their feminine by taking टाप्, but are both masculine and feminine. Thus, शुभयाः कीलालयाः ब्राह्मणी 'the auspicious-going, nectar-drinking Brâhmanî'. Had the feminine of such words been formed by टाप्, then the case-affix स् of the nominative singular would have been elided after them (VI. 1. 68).

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class :—

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|--------|------|--------|------|----------|--------|
| 1. अज  | अजा  | 2. एडक | एडका | 3. कोकिल | कोकिला |
| 4. चटक | चटका | 5. भृश | भृशा | 6. मूषिक | मूषिका |

N. B. The above words denote 'jâti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sûtra, the affix 'ñish' (IV. 2. 63) in the feminine.

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|----------|-------|---------|-------|----------|-------|
| 7. बाल   | बाला  | 8. होड  | होडा  | 9. पाक   | पाका  |
| 10. वत्स | वत्सा | 11. मन् | मन्दा | 12. विलस | विलसा |

N. B. The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in short अ in the masculine, but for the present sûtra, they would have taken the affix 'डीप्' (IV. 1. 20) in the feminine.

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|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|
| 13. पूर्वापहरण, | पूर्वापहरणा; | 14. अपरापहरण | अपरापहरणा; |
|-----------------|--------------|--------------|------------|

N. B. These two words are formed by the affix ह्युद्, and being रिन्, would have taken डीप् (IV. 1. 15) but for this sûtra.

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|---------------|------------|-------------|----------|
| 15. संफल,     | संफला;     | 16. भक्षफल, | भक्षफला; |
| 17. भञ्जिनफल, | भञ्जिनफला; | 18. बाणफल,  | बाणफला;  |
| 19. पिण्डफल,  | पिण्डफला;  | 20. विफल,   | विफला;   |

*N. B.* The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix णिष् (IV. I. 64) but for their enumeration in the 'ajādi' class; 'विफल' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as विफला; when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is विफली ॥

21. सत्पुष्प,	सत्पुष्पा;	22. प्राक्पुष्प,	प्राक्पुष्पा;
23. कान्तपुष्प,	कान्तपुष्पा;	24. मान्तपुष्प,	मान्तपुष्पा;
25. शतपुष्प,	शतपुष्पा;	26. एकपुष्प,	एकपुष्पा;

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken णिष् by IV. I. 64.

27. दूद्र दूद्रा

*B. N.* But the feminine of दूद्र is दूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a śūdra'; so also when the word दूद्र is compounded with the word महा as, महादूद्री 'a woman of 'महादूद्र' class'.

The term 'महादूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras: and this compound word would have taken the affix 'दाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I. I. 72, but for the vārtika, viz 'दूद्रा चामहत पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim:—"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prātipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself"; Therefore, the word 'śūdra' which cannot be anything but a prātipadika, does not denote 'mahā-śūdra'. This objection is futile: the very fact of this vārtika indicates by implication (jñāpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta-vidhi is valid and does apply. Thus we have the forms like अतिपीयरी अतिपीयरी and अतिभवती

28. कुञ्ज कुञ्जा 29. उष्णिह उष्णिहा 30. हेमविष्ट हेमविष्टा

*N. B.* The above words end in consonants and would not have taken 'दाप्' but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class.

31. उद्येष्ट उद्येष्टा 32. कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33. मध्यम मध्यमा

*B. N.* The above words denoting matrimonial realtion would have taken the affix 'णिष्' by IV. I. 46.

34. अमूल अमूला The word 'mūla' preceded by the negative particle naḥ, would have otherwise taken 'णिष्' by IV. I. 64.

ऋन्नेभ्योङीप् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-नेभ्यः, ङीप्, ( स्त्रियाम् ङायाप्ता० ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकाणन्तेभ्यो मकाणन्तेभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after Nominal stem ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ह् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीप् and ङीन्; and the प् is taken to distinguish ti from those

affixes; the real affix is ई । Thus, कर्तृ ;—f. कर्त्री ; हर्तृ—f. हर्त्री ; शण्डिन्—f. शण्डिनी ; छविन्,—f. छविनी ॥

उगितश्च ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ उगितः, च, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्र इन् यत्रसंभवति यथा कयंश्चिन् सतुगिच्छिष्यरूपं, सवन्तात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ धातोः उगितः प्रतिषेधोक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अंशते ओपसंख्यानम् ॥

6. And after what has an indicatory 'uk' (उ, ङ्, or लृ) the affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine.

The उक् is a pratyāhāra meaning उ, ङ्, and लृ । Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way it may be, that word-form is called उगित् । That which ends with such a word is meant here. A prātipadika pure and simple, not formed by an affix, may be उगित्, thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanāmas: an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and शतृ, and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्; similarly a letter may be उगित् as नृ meaning नृ in VI. 4. 127, ("नृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्धन् &c")

Thus, भवत् 'honored' sir.—f. भवती 'madam'. Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवत्—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady'. Similarly पचत् (formed by adding शतृ III. 2. 124), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the मुष comes by VII. 1. 82. So also यज्ञन्ती 'a female sacrificing'; अर्धत् अर्धती 'a mare'.

Vārt:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk'. Thus the roots झुस् 'to fall down', षुस् 'to fall down' have indicatory उ; and we get from these roots, the prātipadikas like उखासत् and पर्णभत्, (III. 2. 76). The उखासत् ब्राह्मणी, पर्णभत् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding डीप् ।

Vārt:—The prātipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix डीप् । As, प्राची, प्रतीची, उरीची ॥

घनो र च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घनः, र, च, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति रेफान्तादेशः ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ घनो न ह्यः ॥

7. The affix 'डीप्' is added, in forming the feminine to the stems that end in the syllable चन्, and र is the substitute of the final of such syllable.

Thus धीवन् (Uṇādi IV. 115) f. धीवरी 'a female artisan'; पीवन् f. पीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman', शर्वन् f. शर्वरी 'night' (शृ + वनिष् III. 2. 75) lit. that which destroys light, So also परमेकदृश्वरी ॥

Words ending in वृन् are formed by the affixes वृनिप्, (III. 2. 103) वृनिप् and वृनिप् (III. 2. 74). These words end in वृन् and consequently would have taken डीप् even by IV. 1. 5; the necessity of the present sūtra arose in order to teach the change of वृन् into र् in case of words ending in वृन् ॥

*Vārt:*—If the affix वृन् is ordained to be added to a word ending in वृष्, (a letter of वृष् pratyāhāḥa), and is thus immediately preceded by a soft consonant then this rule does not apply, that is to say, there is neither the application of the affix डीप् nor the change of वृन् into र् ॥ Thus सहयुध्वन् is both masculine and feminine as, सहयुध्वा ब्राह्मणः or ब्राह्मणी 'a Brāhman brother or sister in arms'. In सहर्वन् the वृन् is preceded by र् which is a letter of वृष् class, but as वृन् is not ordained to be applied to वृष् but to वृ, and we get the र् indirectly by guṇa, the vārtika does not apply to such a case. Hence सहर्वन् ॥

पादोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पादः, अन्यतरस्याम् ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादन्तान् प्रातिपदिकान्यतरस्यां स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'डीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with word 'pād.'

The word पाद् becomes पावृ when final in certain Bahuvrihi compounds (V. 4. 140). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई ( डीप् ). In the latter alternative, the form will be द्विपदी, the word पाद् being replaced by पावृ by VI. 4. 130, (as read with I. 4. 18). Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी ; चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

दावृचि ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्, दावृचि, ( स्त्रियां पादः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋचिवाच्यायां पादन्तान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां दाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. The affix दाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pād', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-Veda.

This debars डीप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses'; similarly त्रिपदा ऋक्, चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Rik verse"? Observe द्विपदी देवदत्ता 'Devadattā (a woman) having two feet'.

न पद स्वस्मादिभ्यः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, पद, स्वस्मादिभ्यः, ( स्त्रियाम् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदं संज्ञकेभ्यः स्वस्मादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रीप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

10. The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'पद' (I. 1. 24), and after 'स्वस्व' &c.

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves. Thus पञ्च ब्राह्मण्यः 'the five Brāhmaṇi ladies'. So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine. The following words belong to the

Svasrādi class :—स्वसा 'a sister', पुहिता 'a daughter'; ननान्ना 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's brother's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्रः 'three'. चतस्रः 'four'.

मनः ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः ( डीप् स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

11. The affix डीप् is not employed after a Nominal-stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

By IV. 1. 5, prātipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix डीप्, in as much as they end in न्; but the present sūtra prohibits that. Thus शमन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine; and is declined as follows :—I. ३. शमा; d. शमानौ, pl. शमानः ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामानः ॥

Here by using the term मन् we mean words formed by an affix whose effective element is मन्, such as the affix मनिन् (Uṇādi IV. 144) in the words शमन् (शे + मनिन्) and पामन्; as well as words which end in मन् which does not represent an affix. This is done on the strength of the following paribhāṣa :—अनिनसमन ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चनर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ "Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar denote by I. 1. 72 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस्, and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning." Therefore, words like सीमन् and अतिमहिमन्, where मन् is not an affix, but an integral part of the word, are also governed by the present sūtra. Thus, सीमा, सीमानौ, सीमानः अतिमहिमा, अतिमाहमानौ and अतिमहिमानः ॥

अनौ बहुव्रीहेः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, बहुव्रीहेः, ( स्त्रियां डीप् न ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमन्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियाम् डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

12. The affix डीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the penultimate is not elided. Of the Bahuvrīhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not; as it will be taught in IV. 1. 28. Thus सुपर्षन् 'possessed of beautiful joints' is both masculine and feminine. As सुपर्षा, सुपर्षाणौ, सुपर्षाणः; so also सुचर्मा, सुचर्माणौ and सुचर्माणः ॥ In these cases the penultimate अ of अन् or मन् is not elided. See VI. 4. 137.

Why do we say "after Bahuvrīhi compounds"? Because after any other compounds, this rule will not apply. As आंतराजन् is an Avyayibhāva compound, its feminine will be अतिराज्नी ॥

डावुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ डाप्, उभाभ्यां, अन्यतरस्यां, ( मनः अनौबहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डाप् प्रत्ययो भवति उभाभ्यां मन्त्रन्तात्प्रातिपदिकादनन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहेरन्यतरस्याम् ॥

13 The affix डार् comes optionally after both these, viz. the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन् ॥

Of the affix डार्, the letter र् indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the वि (I. 1. 64) of the base. Thus पामन् + डार् = पाम् + मा = पामा, This being an optional rule we have 1. s पामा d, पामे or पामानौ, p/, पामाः or पामानः ; similarly with सीमा, as, सीमा, सीमे or सीमानौ, सीमाः or सीमानः ॥

So also in Bahuvrīhi compounds ending in अन्. As :—

बहुपञ्चा,	बहुपञ्चे or बहुपञ्चानौ,	बहुपञ्चाः or बहुपञ्चानः ॥
बहुतक्षा,	बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ,	बहुतक्षाः or बहुतक्षाणः ॥

Why do we say “optionally” ? So that the option may apply to sūtra IV. 1. 7 also; i. e. when a prātipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrīhi compound, then the change of न into र् and the application of डीर् are optional · we may apply the affix डार् instead. As :— बहुषीवा or बहुषीवरी ; बहुषीवा or बहुषीवरी ॥

अनुपसर्जनात् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन् उपसर्जनात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामोऽनुपसर्जनादित्येवं तदेदितव्यम् ॥

14. The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem which is not a subordinate term in a compound.

This is an adhikāra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV. 1. 77: and prohibits the application of affixes to ‘upasarjanas’. That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only, which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound. ( I. 2. 43 ). Thus the next sūtra declares “the affix णिप् is added in forming the feminine after what ends in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicative इ, & c.” Thus the word कुरुचर is formed by the affix च (III.) 2. 16), and ends in अ. The feminine of this word will be formed by डीर् as कुरुचरी, similarly मद्रचर—/ मद्रचरी । But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I. 2. 43), then they will not take the affix डीर् in the feminine. Now in a Bahuvrīhi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II. 2, 35) ; therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take डीर् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचर or बहुमद्रचर मधुरा ॥ Similarly IV. 1. 63 says, “the affix डीर् is added after words denoting jāti” as, कुक्कुडी, शुक्ली ॥ But where these words are upasarjana, ‘hiś’ will not be added : as, बहुकुक्कुडा बहुशुकुरा मधुरा ॥

As a general rule, tadanta-vidhi (I, 1, 72) does not apply to compounds ; but the present sūtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds for the purposes

of the application of feminine affixes. For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sūtra ; for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhāna). But the present sūtra indicates that the tadanta-vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound.

The feminine of कुम्भकार or नगरकार will be कुम्भकारी or नगरकासी, in as much as the second member here is pradhāna : the word 'kumbha-kāra' being formed by अण् (III, 2, 1), and thus making it possible to apply डीप् by IV. 1. 15. The affix अण् referred to in the next sūtra refers to the kṛit-affix अण् (III. 2. 1), as well as to the Taddhita affix अण् ॥

दिङ्ढाणञ्द्वयसञ्जद्वयञ्मात्रच्तयप् ठक् ठञ्कञ्करपः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥  
दित्-ढ-अण्-अञ्-द्वयसञ्-द्वयञ्-मात्रच्-तयप्-ठक्-ठञ्कञ्-करपः (अतः स्त्रिया-  
य डीप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नञ्प्रतीककृद्भ्युत्तरणतलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

15. The affix डीप् is added, in the feminine, after the Nominal-stems ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ढ, or if the affix be ढ, or अण्, or अञ्, or द्वयसञ्, or द्वयञ्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ् or कञ्, or क्वरप् ॥

The word अतः 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvṛitti from IV. 1. 4 ; and qualifies the affixes above-mentioned, wherever necessary. This debars the affix टाप of IV. 1. 4. We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m., कुरुचर f., कुरुचरी m., मद्रचर f., मद्रचरी (चर+ई=चर्+ई ; the final अ is elided by VI. 4. 148.) The word kuru-chara is formed by ढ (III. 2. 16). of which ढ is indicatory.

Q. It might be objected, "why is not the affix डीप् added after the words पचमान, formed by the affix घानच् (III. 2. 124) in as much as this affix is a substitute of लट् ; and because लट् has an indicatory ढ, therefore, its substitute will also be supposed to have an indicatory ढ (I. 1. 57)."

A. To this we reply, 'the affix लट् is not दित् as it has two indicatory letters, ल् and ढ्.

Q. If that be so, affixes like ल्युट् should also be called no दित् affixes, as they have also two indicatory letters.

A. To this we reply, that if ल्युट् be not regarded दित्, then the indicatory ढ of ल्युट् finds no scope any where: as the indicatory ढ of लट् has its scope in sūtra III. 4. 79. Therefore, the feminine of पचमान will be पचमाना ॥ Similarly, the indi-



catory इ of augments will not cause the application of the affix हीप्; thus पठिता विद्या ॥ Here the feminine of पठिता is formed by आ and not इ. This is indicated by sūtra IV. 3. 23, which says "augment मुद् is added to the affixes दुष् and दुषत्". If the इ of मुद् could have made the affix द्विन् for the purposes of this present sūtra; the anubandha इ had been unnecessarily added to the affixes दुष् and दुषत् in the above.

(2) Of words ending in इ we have, m, सौपर्णेय f. सौपर्णेयी so also f. वेनेसेयी. The इ stands for the affix इक्; and it is replaced by एस् (VII. 1. 2). Thus सुपर्णा + इक् (IV. 1. 120) = सुपर्णा + एस् = सौपर्णेय (VII. 2. 118). There is no affix which is merely इ without any indicatory letters; and denoting the feminine; the only affix, as said above, is इक् ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here:—"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it", and we cannot say that the इ of this sūtra refers to the anubandha-less इ of V. 3. 102 which is always Neuter.

(3) Of words in अण्, we have already said that the affix अण् here refers to both the Kṛit and the Taddhita affix 'aṇ'. Thus with the kṛit affix 'aṇ' we have कुम्भकार and नगरकार (III. 2. 1), the feminine of which is कुम्भकारी and नगरकारी ॥ With the Taddhita affix 'aṇ' we have औपगव (IV. 1. 92), the feminine of which is औपगवी ॥ Sometimes words formed by the addition of the affix ण are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV. 4. 62), sometimes words formed by ण are not so treated, as राण्डा, मोटा (IV. 2. 57).

(4) Words formed by अम् as औत्स f. औत्सी, औदपान, f. औदपानी, (IV. 1. 86). Though by IV. 1. 73 the affix हीन् would have come after the words ending in अम्, the re-employment of this affix in the present sūtra is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix हीप् which would have presented itself by IV. 1. 63; that is even when 'jāti' is indicated, 'ṇish' is not to be employed here.

(5) The three affixes ह्यसत्, रण् and माचस् are added by V. 2. 37; as, ऊरुह्यसी, ऊरुह्यसी, ऊरुमाची 'reaching to the thigh'. Similarly जानुह्यसी, जानुह्यसी, जानुमाची ॥

(6) So also with words formed by तयप् (V. 2. 42). As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five' so also द्वातयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in इक् (IV. 4. 1) as, मासिकी 'a female dicer', शालाकिकी. The इ is replaced by इक् (VII. 3. 50).

(8) Similarly with words ending in इस् (V. 1. 18): as, लावणिकी 'elegant'. The affixes इक् and इस् are separately enumerated in this sūtra, in order to exclude the affix इन् &c. For had the word इ merely been used, then it would have meant all the three affixes इक्, इन् and इस्, which is not desired.

(9) Similarly with words ending in कश् (III. 2. 60) as, बाइशी, ताइशी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in स्वरप् (III. 2. 163) as इस्वरी 'swift',  
जम्बरी ॥

*Vart*:—In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नश् and स्नश् (IV. 1. 87) and ईकृ (IV. 4. 59) and यदुन् (III. 2. 56) and of the words तरुण and तदुन 'a youth'. Thus स्त्रीणी 'a female', सौत्ती 'a male', शान्तीकी 'a female spear bearer', भाव्यंकरणी 'enriching'; वरुणी or तदुनी 'a young woman'.

यञश्च ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यञः, च, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यञन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपत्यमङ्गणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix डीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV. 1. 105).

Thus गार्ग्य + डीप् = गार्ग्य + ई (VI. 4. 148) = गार्ग + ई (VI. 4. 150) = गार्गी 'a female descendant of Garga'; so also वात्सी ॥

*Vart*:—This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise. Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वेष् of द्वीप + यश् (IV. 3. 10). Its feminine will be द्वेष्वा 'living on or relating to an island'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms; in which the anuvṛitti of यञ् only runs and not of others.

प्राचां स्फ स्तद्धितः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचां, स्फः, तद्धितः, ( यञः स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राचाप्राचार्याणां मतेन यञन्तान् स्त्रियां स्फः प्रत्ययो भवति स च तद्धितसंज्ञः ॥

17. In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix 'yañ', and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix.

Of this affix स्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I. 3. 6), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'nish' (IV. 1. 41). The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, viz by 'shpha' and 'nish'. The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prātipadika (I. 2. 46). The affix क is replaced by the substitute भायन (VII. 1. 2). Thus गार्ग्य + स्फ + डीप् = गार्ग्यायणी; so also वात्स्यायनी ॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी ॥

The word सर्वत्र "every where", of the next sūtra is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvṛitti, in order to prohibit the applica-

tion of those rules even which would otherwise debar this. Thus IV. 1. 75 says :—‘the affix चाप् comes after भावव्य’ ॥ Here भावव्य ends in बप्, and by IV. 1. 16, the word भावव्य would have taken the affix णिप्: IV. 1. 75 debarred this. But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix ‘shpha’ will be added. Thus भावव्यायनी ॥

सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्वत्र, लोहितादि कतन्तेभ्यः,  
( यञः स्त्रियांष्फ )

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र लोहितादिभ्यः कतपर्यन्तेभ्यो यमन्तेभ्यः स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ‘shpha’ is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with ‘lohita’ and ending with ‘kata’, when they take the affix yan.

The words लोहित &c. are a subdivision of Gargādi class ( IV. 1. 105 ). The present sūtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the last. The word कत refers to the independent prātipadika कत in the said subdivision, which follows immediately after the word कवि, and not to the word कुक्कत of the same class, where the word कत is not an independent full nominal-stem but a member only. Thus लोहित्यायनी, चांघ्रित्यायनी बाध्यायणी ॥

*Kārikā* कण्वास्तु शकलः पूर्वः कतावुत्तर इष्यते ।

पूर्वोत्तरे तदन्तादी ष्फाणो तच्च प्रयोजनम् ॥

For the purposes of the application of ष्फ and भण्, the word शकल which is enumerated in the Gaṇapāṭha after the word कण्व ( See IV. 1. 105 ) should be regarded as if it stood immediately *before* कण्व and *after* कत ॥ Thus we have शकल्यायनी ( with ष्फ ), and शकलाः with भण्, meaning शकल्यत्वेभ्यो छात्राः ‘the pupils of Sākalya’.

कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यांच ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौरव्य-माण्डूकाभ्याम्, च, ( स्त्रियांष्फ ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौरव्य माण्डूक इत्येताभ्यां स्त्रियां ष्फः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कौरव्यमाण्डूकयोपसुरेणसंख्यानम् ॥

19. The affix ‘shpha’ is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक ॥

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु ( IV. 1. 151 ); this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by टाप् ( IV. 1. 4 ), but for the present sūtra. So also by IV. 1. 119, the word माण्डूक is formed by भण् added to मण्डूक; and the feminine of māṇḍūka would have been formed by णिप् ( IV. 1. 15 ), but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix. Thus कौरव्यायनी, माण्डूकायनी ॥

How do you explain the form कौरवी in the phrase कौरवी सेना ?

We explain it by saying that कौरवी is not the feminine of कौरव्य; but of कौरव, formed by adding अण् to कुरु by sūtra IV. 3. 120.

*Vart.*—The word आसुरि should be enumerated along with kauravya and māṇḍūkya. Thus आसुरायणी ॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इम् added to the word असुर; the word 'āsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV. 2. 112). But according to the opinion of Patanjali, the word, 'āsuri' should form its further derivative (called also 'द्यपिक') by taking the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus आसुरीयः कल्पः (तेन प्रोक्तम्) ॥

वयसि प्रथमे ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, प्रथमे, ( स्त्रियां डीप् )

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रथमे वयसि यथातिपदिकं भुत्वावर्त्तते ततः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ वयस्यचरमइतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

20. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age.

The word वयः means the condition of the body as dependent upon time; such as, youth, old age &c. Words expressive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl'. किशोरी 'a young girl' बर्करी 'a she-kid'.

Why do we say denoting 'early age'? Observe स्यदिर 'an old woman'; वृद्धा 'an old woman'. Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine.

*Vart.*—The sūtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus बधूरी 'a young woman', चिरणी 'a young woman'. These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i. e. they denote women who have attained their maturity.

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pāṇini himself uses the word 'kanyā' showing that it is a valid form; as in sūtra IV. 1. 116.

The words like उच्चाश्रया 'an infant girl that does not know how to lie down properly' लोहितपादिका 'a female infant whose feet are still tender and red' do not directly, but metaphorically, express age, and hence are not governed by this rule.

द्विगोः ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगुसंज्ञकान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix 'डीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound.

Thus त्र्यम्बुनी, पञ्चम्बुनी ॥ But we find त्रिफला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अञ्ज &c' (IV. 1. 4).

अपरिमाणविस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्योनतद्धितलुकि ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरिमाण-  
विस्त-आचित-कम्बल्येभ्यः, न, तद्धित-लुकि, ( डीप् द्विगोः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरिमाणान्ताद् द्विगोर्विस्ताचित कम्बल्यान्ताच्च तद्धितलुकि सति डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

22. The affix डीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure ; or in 'bista', 'āchita', and 'kambalya'.

This debars 'nip' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sūtra. The words विस्तः 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas', आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart-loads or 80,000 tola's'; and कम्बल्यः 'a measure', all denote measure; and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies. The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V. 1. 19, &c.

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses.' Here the Taddhita affix ङ् (V. 1. 37) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V. 1. 28. This compound does not end in a word denoting parimāṇa technically so called or a measure. The feminine of this word will not be formed by डीप् but by ङाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वी 'a female purchased for five horses'.

The words denoting 'time' or 'number' are not words denoting 'measure' as understood in this sūtra by the word 'parimāṇa'. Thus, द्विवर्षा, 'a two years old female child', त्रिवर्षा 'a three years old female child' (V. 2. 37 Vart.) So also द्विचता 'a female purchased for two hundreds', similarly त्रिचता ॥ So also with the words विस्त &c. As द्विविस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिविस्ता, द्वाचिता, त्र्याचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c.

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimāṇa or a 'measure'? Observe द्वाधकी, त्र्याधकी "a female purchased for two or three ādhaka". Here ādhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb. 11 oz. avoirdupois.

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samāhāra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'nip' will apply. Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses', so also द्वाश्वी ।

काण्डान्तात् क्षेत्रे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काण्ड-अन्तात्, क्षेत्रे, ( द्विगोः तद्धितलुकि डीप् न ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काण्डाद्यन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति क्षेत्रे वाच्ये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix डीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रमन्ति: 'a division of a field of the measure of two kânḍas.' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kânḍa'; the Taddhita affixes denoting measure enjoined by V. 2. 37, have been elided by the *ṽartika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' given under the same sūtra. The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'ālp' but by दाप्; so also द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रमन्ति: ॥

The term 'kânḍa' is a word expressive of non-measure; and, therefore, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra applies to it; the present sūtra is made to regulate this prohibition. That is to say, the prohibition contained in the last sūtra is not universally applicable in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in 'kânḍa'; it applies to cases where the compound refers to superficial land measure. Therefore we have, द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kânḍas long'; त्रिकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope three kânḍas long'.

पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरुषात्, प्रमाणे, अन्यतरस्याम्, ( द्विगोः तद्धितलुकिनडीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे यः पुरुषश्चस्तदन्ताद् द्विगोस्तद्धितलुकि सति अन्यतरस्यां न डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'डीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'puruṣa', referring to measure.

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी इति 'a mote two *puruṣa* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c. The present sūtra ordains an option where IV. 1. 22 would have made the prohibition universal. Why do we say 'when referring to measure'? Observe द्विपुरुषा 'a female purchased in exchange for two males; No option is allowed here. Where the Taddhita affix is not elided, the present rule does not apply. Therefore in Samāhāra Dvigu we have द्विपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषी ॥

बहुव्रीहेरुधसो डीप् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुव्रीहेः, ऊधसः, डीप् ( स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊधस् चान्तान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'डीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrihi compound ending in the word ūdhas an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrihi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डो-धस्; then the final of ūdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V. 4. 131); thus we have कुण्डोधन्; which would have been liable to the rules IV. 1. 12, 13. *ante*; the present sūtra enjoins डीप् instead. Thus कुण्डोष्णी (VI. 4. 134) 'a woman with full bosom'; घटोष्णी 'a cow with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrihi compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्रा-मेधाः (II. 2. 4) which is a Tatpuruṣa compound.

The Sôtra IV. 1. 28 also is debarred in this case: for though the penultimate अ is elided by the VI. 4. 134, yet rule IV. 1. 28 does not apply here.

The substitution of अन् for the final of रुधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise. Therefore in the masculine we have महोषा पर्जन्यः 'the big-bosomed cloud'.

संख्याव्ययादे ङीप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संख्या-अव्यय-भादेः, ङीप् ( बहुव्रीहे रुधसः स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेरेष्ययादेश्च बहुव्रीहेरुधस्यञ्चान्तात् ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'âdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable.

This sôtra ordains 'nip', where by the last sôtra there would have been 'âhish'. Thus द्वी+रुधस्+अनङ्+ङीप् ( V. 4. 131 ) = द्व्यूधी 'having two udders'; so also त्र्यूधी, 'having three udders'. The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral. Similarly अर्यूधी 'many-uddered.'; निर्यूधी 'having no udders.'

Why do we say 'beginning with'? So that the rule may apply to compounds like द्विविधोऽध्वी and त्रिविधोऽध्वी, in which the words 'dvividha' and 'trividha', though not Sankhyâ are words which *begin* with a Sankhyâ.

दामहायनान्ताच्च ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाम-हायनन्तात्, च, ( स्त्रियां ङीप् संख्या बहुव्रीहेः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहे र्दामहायनान्ताद्दामहायनान्ताच्च स्त्रियां ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हायनो वयसि स्मृतः ॥

27. The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'.

The word दामन् was liable to be operated upon by three rules, by, IV. 1. 13 ordaining डाप्, by IV. 1. 11 prohibiting totally the affixing of ङीप् and IV. 1. 28 ordaining nip optionally: the present sôtra ordains nip to the exclusion of all those rules. As द्विसन्ती 'a (mare) bound by two ropes'. त्रिसन्ती ॥

Similarly हायन would have taken long आ by IV. 1. 4, this ordains long ई ॥ Thus द्विहायनी 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी; चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vârt.—The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sôtra. Therefore we have no nip here:—द्विहायना साला 'a hall of two years existence'. So also त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना ॥ Moreover in these latter cases the न is not changed into ञ; for when हायन denotes 'age', it is then only that the न is changed into ञ and not otherwise.

अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनः, उपधा-लोपिनः-अन्यतरस्यां ( बहुव्रीहे डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्तो यो बहुव्रीहिरुपधालोपो तस्मादन्यतरस्यां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix डीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in अन्; in applying णिप्, it loses its penultimate by VI. 4. 134 (अक्षोपोऽनः there is elision of अ of अन् when a *bha* affix follows). Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many kings'. In the alternative, when णिप् is not added, we may add the affix डाप् by IV. 1. 13. Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजाः ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition 'contained in IV. 1. 12 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजानः ॥ when the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix डीप् at all: in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे, सुपर्वाः or सुपर्वा सुपर्वाणौ, सुपर्वाणः ॥ That is to say we apply IV. 1. 13 and 12 only; for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c. rule VI. 4. 137 prevents the elision of the penultimate न्; (न संयोगादमनन्तान्, there is not elision of the अ of अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or न) ॥

नित्यम् संज्ञाछन्दसोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, संज्ञा, छन्दसः ( अनउपधा-लोपिनोऽन्यतरस्यां डीप् )

वृत्तिः ॥ अत्रन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनः संज्ञायां विषये छन्दसि चनित्यं डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrīhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to the last rule; for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix डीप् ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surājñī'; अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirājñī'. Similarly in the Chhandas we have गौः पञ्चरात्री, एकरात्री, द्विरात्री 'a cow having five udders, one udder, or two udders'. एकधूर्धा समानधूर्धा ॥

केवलमामकभागधेयपापपरसमानार्थकृतसुमङ्गलं भेषजाच्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ केवल-मामक-भागधेय-पाप-अपर-समान-आर्थकृत-सुमङ्गल-भेषजात्, च, ( संज्ञाछन्दसोः डीप् स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केवलादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः संज्ञायांछन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix डीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas :—केवल, मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्थकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥



The phrase संज्ञा छन्दसोः of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवल्य in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name; so also मामकी and मामिका; भागधेयी as भागधरुणयोर्मगधेयी and भोगधेया; पापी and पापा; अपरी as उताऽपराधोमपवा विजिघ्रे; (Rigveda I. 1. 13) and अपरा; समानी प्रवाणी and समाना; आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता; सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X. 85. 33) सुमङ्गला; भेषजी and भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes डीप् also by IV. 1. 41, as belonging to Gaurādi class No. 86.

रात्रेश्चाजसौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रात्रेः, च, अजसौ, (संज्ञा छन्दसोः डीप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अस्विषयादन्यत्र संज्ञायां छन्दसि च रात्रिश्चाजसौ डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ अजसादिषुतिवन्कष्यम् ॥

31. The affix डीप् comes after the word रात्रि in the Chhandas, and in denoting a Name, except when the affix जस् (nominative plural) is added.

Thus या रात्री सृष्टा, रात्रीभिः (3rd pl); (Rigveda X. 127. 1. I. 35. 1) but in the nominative plural we have रात्रयः, the regular plural of the word रात्रि, as in the sentence यास्ता रात्रयः, instead of रात्र्यः ॥

*Vārt*:—According to Kātyāyana, nīp is not added, not only when we apply the nominative plural termination जस्; but in all other terminations beginning with जस् also. Thus रात्रि सहोदित्वा; here in the accusative singular case also the डीप् is not employed.

But how do you explain the form रात्र्यः in the following तिनिस्पद्वै-  
वगुण्डिताश्च रात्र्यः; This 'rātrya' is the nominative plural of 'rātri' which is formed by the feminine affix nīp; and not by nish. The forms evolved by adding डीप् or डीप् are one and the same, except with regard to accent; that formed by nish has udātta accent on the final: the other has it on the initial. The word रात्रि is formed by the kṛit affix चिप् (Un. IV. 67), and therefore, it is a word which is governed by IV. 1. 45 because it is a word falling in Bahuvadi class, by virtue of the general subrule "a word ending with the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, other than क्तिन् belongs to Bahuvadi class; some say that every word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् belongs to this class". Therefore it takes डीप् in forming the feminine.

अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तर्वत्-पतिवतः, नुक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्वत् पतिवतोर्नुक् भवति डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

32. The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the affix डीप् is added to form the feminine.

This sūtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added, (and it must be added at the end,

by sūtra I. 1. 46), the forms become भन्तर्वद् and पतिवद्; and these words must take ङिप् by virtue of IV. 1. 5, if not by this sūtra. Thus we have भन्तर्वद्दी and पतिवद्दी ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively. Therefore we have not the above forms in the following :—अयमे स्वया पतिमती पृथिवी; here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथिवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular. Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be भन्तर्वद्दी; in fact there will be no affixing of वन् ( मनुप् ). Because मनुप् is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V. 2. 94, while the word भन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V. 2. 94. The word भन्तर् would not therefore take मनुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sūtra. The न् is changed to व् by VIII. 2. 9 in भन्तर्वन् ॥ The change of न् to व् in पतिवन् is however irregular.

The augment जुक् is optionally added to these words in the Vedas :—  
as सान्तर्वद्दी or सान्तर्वन्ती देवानुपेन् ॥ पतिवद्दी or पतिवन्ती वरुणवत्सा ॥

पत्युर्नोयज्ञसंयोगे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्युः, नः, यज्ञसंयोगे, ( स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्त्रियां विधीयते ॥

33. The substitute न् replaces the final इ of पति before the feminine affix डीप्, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'.

Thus पति वाचं यच्छ ॥ The feminine पत्नी means legitimate wife, she who is entitled to take part in the sacrifices of her husband. The word यज्ञसंयोग is an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa compound and means "related through sacrifice" i. e. who shares the fruits of and is entitled to participate in, the sacrifices of her husband. But when the sense is not that of 'wife', the feminine of पति will be पतिः as ग्रामस्य पतिरिति ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahman is the head or mistress of this village'. If the word पत्नी means 'the wife who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband', it cannot be applied to the wife of a Sūdra, for a Sūdra cannot perform a sacrifice, *a fortiori* not his wife? The term पत्नी is, however, extended to the wife of a Sūdra also, by analogy, as the marriage of a Sūdra also takes place by offering sacrifice to Fire and making it a witness.

विभाषासपूर्वस्य ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, सपूर्वस्य (पत्युर्नः, स्त्रियां, अनुपसर्जनस्य ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पतिशब्दान्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य सपूर्वस्यानुपसर्जनस्य स्त्रियां विभाषा नकारादेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यते एव ॥

34. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, न् is optionally the substitute of the final इ of पति, when the latter is preceded by another word.

The word सपुर्वस्व means when the word पति is not an upasarjana, but stands at the end of a compound. Thus वृद्धपतिः or वृद्धपत्नी; स्थूलपतिः or स्थूलपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprāpta-vibhāṣā. Because it is free from the limitations of 'yajña-sanyoga' of the last sūtra. Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe पतिरियं ब्राह्मणी ग्रामस्य, 'this Brahman lady is the mistress of the village.' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी ॥

नित्यंसपत्न्यादिषु ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, सपत्नी-आदिषु, ( पत्युर्नः स्त्रि० )  
वृत्तिः ॥ सपत्न्यादिषु नित्यं वस्तुनकारदेशो भवति डीप् तु लभ्यत एव ॥

35. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न्, in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest.

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix डीप्, in the cases of certain words. The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision. Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी ॥ The compound of the following words with पत्नी are governed by this rule:— 1 समान 'equal' 2 एक 'one', 3 वीर 'hero', 4 पिण्ड 'a cake', 5 भ्रातृ 'brother' 6 पुत्र 'a son', and 7 श्व 'a slave' (this only in the Chhandas).

पूतक्रतोरैच ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूतक्रतोः, ऐच, ( स्त्रियां डीप् )  
वृत्तिः ॥ पूतक्रतुशब्दस्य स्त्रियामेकापदेशो भवति डीप् प्रत्ययः ॥

36. In forming the feminine, the letter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतक्रतु, when the affix डीप् is added.

Thus पूतक्रतायै 'the wife of Pūtakratu'. This and the two succeeding sūtras, are in a way more intimately connected with IV. 1. 48, inasmuch as the sense of the feminine words must be that of 'wife of', otherwise these sūtras will not apply. Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतक्रतुः will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (क्रतवः) are sanctified (पूताः)'.

वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसीदानामुदात्तः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृषाकपि-अग्नि-कुसित-कुसीदानां, उदात्तः ( ऐ डीप् स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृषाकप्यादीनामुदात्त एकापदेशो भवति स्त्रियां डीप् च प्रत्ययः ॥

37. In forming the feminine with the affix डीप्, the letter ऐ having udātta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसीद् ॥

The words वृषाकपि and कुसीर have udātta accent on the middle vowel (Phiṭ Sū II. 19), the feminine of these has udātta, however, on the final. The words 'agni' and the rest have the udātta on the final (Phiṭ sū I. 1), their substitute ऐ will necessarily be udātta, by the rule of sthānivat bhāva, even if the present sūtra had not explicitly declared it to be so. Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X. 86. 13) 'the wife of Vṛishakapi', अग्नायी, (Rig Ved. I. 22. 12) the wife of 'Agni', कुसितायी 'wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी 'the wife of Kusidai'. The present rule only applies when the sense of the feminine word is that of 'wife of'. Otherwise we have वृषाकपिः स्त्रा 'the women Vṛishakapi' and not वृषाकपायी ॥ For the accent of the word वृष, See VI. I. 203.

मनोऽरौवा ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनोः, औ, वा, ( ऐ उदात्तः स्त्रियांङीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्यान् स्त्रियांङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति औकारधन्तदेशः ऐकारधोऽक्षः ॥

38. In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, औ is optionally the substitute of the final of मनु, (as well as the udātta ऐ) ॥

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood. The force of वा is to make the substitution optional. Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनुः, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'. The word मनु has udātta accent on the first vowel, as it is formed from मन् by the affix उ (Uṇ I. 10), which by Uṇ I. 9 is treated as having an indicatory न्, and affixes having indicatory न् throw the accent on the first syllable. (VI. I. 197)

वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णाद्, अनुदात्तात्, तोपधात्, तः, नः ( वा ङीप्स्त्रियां ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुषासान्तात्तोपधाद्वाङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तकारस्य च नकापदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पिशङ्गावुपसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ असितपलितयोः प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसिक्लमित्येके ॥ भाषायामपीष्यते ॥

39. The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त् as its penultimate letter: and the letter न् is substituted in the room of त् ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated'; the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated', so भ्येता or भ्येनी 'black', हरिता or हरिणी 'green'. All these words have udātta accent on the first vowel either by Rule VI. I. 197 (अनित्यादिर्नित्यम् "word formed by affixes having an indicatory न् or त् have udātta accent on the first vowel";)

because these words are formed by the Upadi affixes ङ् (Up III. 86) and इत् (III. 93), or by the Phiṭ sūtra II. 10 (वर्णानां षण्तिनितान्त्वानाङ् “of words expressive of colour and ending in षण्, or ति or नि or त्, the udātta accent falls on the first vowel”).

Why do we say “expressive of color”? Observe महता, मरुता ॥ These words are also acutely accented on the first syllable, by rule VI. 2. 49 (गतिरनन्तरः “the first word retains its natural accent in a compound of a *gati* word with a word formed by the affix *ktā*”). But as these words do not express color, their feminine does not take *ñip*.

Why do we say “ending in a gravely accented vowel”? Observe श्वेता ‘white.’ Here though the word expresses ‘color’, yet it has acute ( instead of grave ) accent on the final ( by rule of Phiṭ sūtra I. 21 घृतादीनां च “the words *ghṛita* &c. have udātta on the final”).

Why do we say “having the letter त् as its penultimate letter”? Otherwise the affix *ñish* will be employed in forming the feminine.

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter त् in the masculine. Otherwise this rule will not apply. As श्वितिर्ब्राह्मणी ‘a black Brahmanṭ woman’. Here श्विति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त्, has anudātta accent on the final ( VI. 1. 197 ) as it is formed by the affix क्तिन्; but as it does not end with त्, its feminine is not formed with *ñip*.

*Vart.*—The affix *ñip* comes also after the word पिच्छः; as, पिच्छी ‘of tawny color’.

*Vart.*—There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित; as असिता ‘black’ and पलिता ‘grey’.

*Vart.*—According to some, the substitute कृष् replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature. As असिक्री (Rig Veda IX. 73. 29); पलिक्री (R. Veda V. 2. 4). According to some authorities, these latter forms are valid in literature other than the Vedic :—As गतो गणस्त्वृणमसिक्रिकानाङ् ॥

अन्यतोडीप् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यतः, डीप्, ( घर्णादनुदात्तात् स्त्रियां ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ वर्णवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादनुदात्तान्तात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix डीप् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudātta accent.

The word वा of IV. 1. 38 does not govern this sūtra. The word अन्यतः means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism i. e. after words which have *not* त् as penultimate. The difference between *ñip* and *ñish* affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III. 1. 4) and the latter acute. Thus सारङ्गी, कल्पापी, रावली ॥

When the word does not express color, this rule does not apply. As लद्दा 'a bed-sted'.

When the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this will not apply, as, कृष्णा, कपिला ॥

पिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ष-इत्-गौर-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ विद्वयः प्रातिपादिकेभ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix ङीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicative ष and after the words गौर and the rest.

Thus by Sūtra III. 1. 145 (शिल्पिणि षुन्) the affix षुन् is added to a root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist. The feminine of the words so formed, will take ङीष्. As, नर्तकी 'an actress', खनकी 'a digger'; रज्जकी 'a dyer'. So also the words गौर &c ; as गोरी, मत्सी । The following is the list of words belonging to Gaurādi class.

1 गौर, 2 मत्स्य, 3 षन्ध्य, 4 शङ्ख, 5 पिङ्गल 6 हय, 7 गवय, 8 मुकय, 9 कृष्य, 10 पुद, 11 तुण 12 ह्रण, 13 ह्रोज, 14 हरिण, 15 कौकण, (काकण,) 16 पटर, 17 उकण, (आमल) 18 आमलक, 19 कुडक, 20 चिम्ब, 21 बरर, 22 फर्करक (कर्कर) 23 तर्कार, 24 शर्कार, 25 पुष्कर, 26 शिखण्ड, 27 ललर 28 शष्कण्ड 29 सनन्द 30 सुषम, 31 सुषव 32 आलिन् 33 गडुज, 34 पाण्ड्य 35 आढक, 36 आनन्द, 37 आश्वत्थ 38 सपाद, 39 आखक (आपक्षिक), 40 शष्कुल, 41 सूर्य (सूर्य) 42 शूर्प, 43 सूच, 44 शूष (शूष) 45 शूय, 46 शूष, 47 मेय, 48 वल्गक, 49 धातवः, 50 सल्लक, 51 मालक, 52 मालत, 53 साल्वक, 54 वेतस, 55 वृक्ष (वृक्ष) 56 अतस, 57 उभय, 58 भृङ्ग, 59 मह, 60 मड, 61 छद्, 62 पेक्ष, 63 मेक्ष, 64 भृन् 65 तक्षन्, 66 अनडुही, 67 अनडुही, 68 । एषणः कारणे । 69 देह, 70 देहल, 71 काकादन 72 गवादन, 73 तेजन, 74 रजन, 75 लवण, 76 औसाहमणि (औसाहमणि) 77 गौतम (गौतम) 78 पारक, 79 अयस्थूण (अयःस्थूण) 80 भौरिकि, 81 भौलिकि, 82 भौलिकि, 83 यान 84 मेध, 85 आलम्बि, 86 आलम्बि, 87 आलम्बि, 88 आलम्बि, 89 केवाल, 90 आपक. 91 आरट, 92 नट, 93 टोट, 94 नोट, 95 मूलाट, 96 शातन, 97 पोतन, 98 पातन, 99 पाठन (पानट) 100 आस्तरण, 101 अधिकरण, 102 अधिकार 103 अग्रहायणी (आग्रहायणी) 104 प्रत्यवरोहिणी 105 सेचन, 106 सुमङ्गलास्तज्ञायाम् । 107 अण्डर 108 सुन्दर, 109 मण्डल, 110 मन्दर, 111 मंगल 112 पट, 113 पिण्ड, 114 वण्ड, 115 ऊर्द, 116 गुरद, 117 घन, 118 सूद, 119 औड (आर्द) 120 हृद (हृद) 121 पाण्ड, 122 भाण्डल (भाण्ड) 123 लोहाण्ड, 124 कदर, 125 कन्दर, 126 कदल, 127 तरुण, 128 तलुन, 129 कल्माष, 130 बृहन्, 131 महन्, 132 सोम, 133 सोधर्म । 134 रोहिणी नक्षत्रे । 135 रेवती नक्षत्रे । 136 बिकल, 137 निष्कल 138 पुष्कल । 139 कटाच्छ्रोणिवचने । पिप्पल्यादयश्च । 140 पिप्पली, 141 हरितकी (हरितकी) 142 कौशातकी, 143 शगी, 144 वरी, 145 घरी, 146 पृथिवी, 147 क्रोष्ट, 148 मातामह, 149 पितामह, 150 सुगेड, 151 सुव, 152 सूर्य, 153 सकलक. 154 आलिङ्गि, 155 पावन, 156 एत, 157 विटक, 158 भट्ट, 159 रहन, 160 कन्द, 161 कण ॥

N.B.—The word गौर though denoting color, is finally acute by virtue of this sūtra ; the word मत्स्य &c. being jāti words having a penultimate ष would

not have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 63) but for this sūtra; भृश् and लक्ष्मन् would have taken डाप् (IV. 1. 13), एषप् is formed by स्युद् and would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) इत्येतन्नय-एषणी 'a balance, a probe'. गौतम would take ङीप् also by IV. 1. 73. Similarly it may be shown why the several words have been included in this list. By the *vartika* मांतरे पिच्च given under IV. 2. 36, the affix ग्रामह in माताग्रह is treated as having an indicatory ष ॥ The word माताग्रह will take ङीप् because it is पितृ; its inclusion in the list of Gaurādi indicates that the rule of ङीप् application, because a word is पितृ, is not universal (अनित्यः पितृ लक्षणो ङीप्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like इष्टा &c.

जानपदकुण्डगोण स्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककबरद् वृत्त्यमात्रवपनाकृति  
माश्राणा स्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनाऽयोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जान-  
पद-कुण्ड-गोण-स्थल-भाज-नाग-काल-नील-कुश-कामुक-कवरद्, वृत्ति-अमत्र-अव-  
पन-अकृतिमा-श्राणा-स्थौल्य-वर्ण-अनाच्छादन-अयोविकार-मैथुनेच्छा-केशवेशेषु (स्त्रि  
यांडीश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जानपदादिभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्य एकादश वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यं ङीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix ङीप् is employed after the eleven words 'jānapada' &c. in the sense of 'profession' &c. respectively; i. e. after the words 1. जानपद 2. कुण्ड, 3. गोण, 4. स्थल 5. भाज, 6. नाग, 7. काल, 8. नील, 9. कुश, 10. कामुक, and कबर; the affix ङीप् is employed when the sense is that of 1. 'profession or living' 2. 'a bowl', 3. 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4. 'a natural spot of ground'; 5. 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6. 'stout', 7. 'black-coloured', 8. 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9. 'a plough-share', 10. 'a libidinous female', 11. 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively.

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जानपदी, the difference being in accent only. For this word is formed by adding the affix अम् to janapada, by sūtra IV. 1. 86, as it belongs to Utsadi class of words: in forming the feminine the affix ङीप् will be added in this latter case, thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable.

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl-shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'a name of Durga'. (3) गोणी 'a sack' यच्च धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणा, a particular name. (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement'; otherwise स्थल्य as स्थल्योक्तं परिगृह्णन्ति ॥ (5) भीजा 'cooked', otherwise भाजा, (6) नागा 'a stout woman', otherwise नागा ॥ The word नाग when a guṇa-vachana word i. e. a word expressive of quality, in the sense of 'stoutness', takes the affix ङीप् in the feminine; otherwise टाप् when expressing general qualities. When it is a jati-

vachana word it takes ङीष् under all circumstances. (7) काली 'a black-coloured female', otherwise काल 'cruel' (8) नीली 'a blue-coloured animal or indigo' The word मनाच्छादन in the sūtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses above indicated i. e. when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'. Such as नालागोः, or नीली बहवा; or when it denotes appellative as नीली ॥ In other cases we have नील 'a blue-coloured cloth'. (9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामका 'a woman desirous of wealth'. (11) कबरी 'a fillet or braid of hair', otherwise कबर 'mixed, variegated'.

शोणात् प्राचाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शोणात्, प्राचाम् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोणशब्दात्प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा बहवा 'a red or bay mare'. By *Phit Sūtra* II. 10 referred to already in IV. 1. 39 the udātta in शोण falls on the first syllable, and by IV. 1. 40 it would have taken ङीष् always; but the present sūtra makes a *niyama* rule and restricts the application of ङीष् according to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians only, and not of others.

घोतो गुणवचनात् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, उतः, गुण वचनात् (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुणवचनात् प्रातिपदिकाद् उक्तापन्तात् स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसुशब्दाद् गुणवचनात् ङीष्वायुशब्दार्थम् ॥

वा० ॥ स्वरसंयोगोपधात्मनिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

44. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word ending in short उ, and being expressive of a quality.

The word गुणवचनः means what expresses quality: i. e. "words not being words formed by primitive or secondary affixes, or other words entitled to the name of *saṅkhyā* or *sarvaṇḍman*, or *jāti*, or compound words, provided they are words denoting qualities and capable of being used as adjectives qualifying substantives as the word शुक्ल is, not as the word रूप, which though it expresses a quality, cannot be used as an adjective." (Guide to Paṇini). Thus from पटु 'dexterous', we have पट्वी or पटुः (without a feminine affix); so मृदुः or मृद्वी 'soft'. Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरिव ब्राह्मणी 'this Brahmana lady is pure'. Why do we say "expressive of a quality?" Observe आलुः 'a mouse' (both masculine and feminine).

*Vart* :—After the word वसु when expressive of a quality, the affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine; in order to make the first syllable acutely ac-



cented. As, बस्ती ॥ बहु is formed by ड (Vp I. 10) and is ādyudātta because the ड is नित् ॥

*Vart.*—Prohibition must be stated after the word लङ्, and words though ending in short ड्, have conjunct consonant as penultimate. As लङ्गिरिषं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanī who chooses her own husband'. Similarly पाण्डु is both gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant. As पाण्डुरिषं ब्राह्मणी ॥

The word Guṇa गुणः 'quality' has been thus defined :—

सत्वे निविशतेपेति पृथग् आतिषु इत्येते ।

भाषेयभाकियाज्जसोऽसत्त्वमकृतिर्गुणः ॥

बहुादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहु-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां वा-ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां वा ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. And the affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest.

As बहु or बह्वी ॥ The following are the words belonging to the Bahvādi class —

1 बहु, 2 पद्मति, 3 भञ्जति, 4 भट्टति, 5 भंहति, 6 शक्ति, (शक्ति), 7 शक्तिः शब्द, 8 शारि, 9 वारि, 10 राति 11 राधि, 12 शाधि, 13 भहि, 14 कपि, 15 बटि, 16 मुनि, 17 इतः प्राप्यंगात् । 18 कृदिकारकक्तिनः । 19 सर्वतोऽन्तिन्नर्पादित्येके । 20 चण्ड, 21 भगल, 22 कृपण, 23 कमल, 24 विकट, 25 विशाल, 26 विशङ्कट, 27 भदज, 28 पञ्ज, 29 चन्द्र-भागान्तरान् (चन्द्रभागा नद्यान्) 30 कल्याण, 31 उदार, 32 पुष्यण, 33 भहन्, 34 क्रोर, 35 मल, 36 खुर, 37 गिरा, 38 बाल, 39 राफ, 40 गुर ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 43 भग, 44 गल, 45 राण इत्यादि ॥

The affix ङीष् also comes optionally after words ending in short इ being the names of the limbs of animals ; as, धमनिः or धमनी ॥ So also after the vowel इ of a kṛit affix, not क्तिन् (III. 3. 94), as राधि or राधी ॥ Some say that the feminine affix ङीष् may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ The word बहु is a guṇa-word and would have *optionally* taken ङीष् even by the last sūtra, its specification here is for the subsequent sūtra, by which it *necessarily* takes ङीष् in the Chhandas. It is an Ākritigāṇa

नित्यं छन्दसि ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, छन्दसि, (बहुादिभ्यः स्त्रियांङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुादिभ्यः छन्दसि विषये नित्यं स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix ङीष् is always employed in the Vedic literature, in forming the feminine of the words बहु and the rest.

Thus बह्वीषु हिस्वा प्रपिबन् ॥ Here बह्वी is the name of a herb.

The word नित्य 'always' is used in the aphorism, more for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, which it governs than for this sūtra. For the word

'optionally' does not govern this, and the aphorism even without the word 'nitya' ? would have been a necessary rule and not optional : for आरम्भसामर्थ्यादेव नित्योक्तिः सिद्धः, योगारम्भमित्येव बोधः ॥

भुवश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छन्दसि नित्यं स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियां भुवो नित्ये ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix ङीष् is always employed in the Chhandas in forming the feminine, after the word भु ॥

Thus विम्बी, प्रम्बी, सुम्बी, चम्बी ॥

But why not so in the case of स्वयम्भूः ? Because it ends in long ऊ, while विम्बी &c. are feminine of विमु &c. ending in short उ ॥ In fact the word उक्तः "after a word ending in short उ" of Sūtra IV. 1. 44 governs this also. The word भुवः is the ablative case of भु irregularly formed by the substitution of ववद्; this form being confined to sūtras only.

पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंयोगात्-आख्यायां, (स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंयोगाद्देशतो र्वत्पातिपदिकं स्त्रियां वर्त्तते पुंस भावश्चाभूतं तस्मान् ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोपालकाशीनां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूर्यादेवतायां चाद् वक्तव्यः ॥

48. The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband.

Relation (yoga) with a male (punsā) is called पुंयोग ॥ Thus the wife of गणक 'an astrologer' is called गणकी, so also महामात्री 'the wife of a chief minister', प्रह्वी 'the wife of a chief'; प्रचरी &c. Thus the word गणक means an astrologer, a calculator or a mathematician; and the wife of such a person will be expressed by the word गणकी ॥ But if a woman is herself an astrologer &c, she will be called गणका (by दाप्) &c. Therefore when matrimonial relation is not denoted, this sūtra will not apply.

Why do we say 'in relation to a husband'? Observe देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता 'two women of the names of Devadattā, and Yajñadattā, not wives of Devadatta and Yajñadatta.'

Why do we say "आख्या or a name"? The word formed will be the name of a woman whose husband is possessed of the quality denoted by the word, and not that the woman possesses that quality. In the case of a woman, therefore, the word is merely a Name or a Designation, and has no reference to the etymological meaning of the word. Moreover, the omission of the word आख्यायाम् would have made the sūtra ambiguous, for the phrase पुं योगाद् also means 'an effect produced by union with a man' such as pregnancy. And words परिसृष्टा and प्रजाता would have required ई and not आ ॥

*Vart*.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words like गोपालिका and the rest. Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow-herd'.

*Vart*.—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sūrya, when she is a celestial being. As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sūrya', while सूरि will denote a human wife of Sūrya, such as, Kunti &c. The affix चाप् makes the word acutely accented on the final : for the word सूर्य has acute on the initial, and had ङीष् been only prohibited and no specific affix ordained, then दाप् would have applied, and it would have left the accent unchanged. Hence a distinct affix चाप् is ordained.

इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमरण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् ॥४९॥ पदानि ॥  
इन्द्र-वरुण-भव-शर्व-रुद्र-मृड-हिम-अरण्य-यव-यवन-मातुल-आचार्याणाम्, आनुक्,  
(स्त्रियां ङीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्रादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुक् चागमः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिमरण्ययोर्महत्वे ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ यवार्थे ॥

वा० ॥ ययनाद्विध्याम् ॥ वा० ॥ उपाध्यायमातुलाभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ आचार्याणत्वे च ॥ वा० ॥ अयंशब्दिभ्याभ्यां वा ॥

वा० ॥ मुद्रलाच्छन्दसि लिङ् ॥

49. The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र, and मृड, and to the words हिम 'snow', अरण्य 'a forest', यव 'barley', यवन 'a Yavana', मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and आचार्य 'a preceptor', before the feminine affix ङीष् ॥

The present sūtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष् ॥ Out of the above words, in case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i. e. the Proper Nouns up to मृड, the present sūtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sūtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things.

Thus इन्द्राणी 'the wife of Indra', वरुणानी 'the wife of Varuṇa', भवानी 'the wife of Bhava', सार्याणी 'the wife of Sarva', रुद्राणी 'the wife of Rudra', मृडानि 'the wife of Mṛḍa'.

*Vart*.—Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness. Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow', अरण्यानी 'a great forest'. Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine.

*Vart*.—After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault. The fault consists in its imitating barley

while not being a barley. In fact the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain. Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat".

*Vart* :—After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting. Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'.

*Vart* :—Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle', and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor', when the feminine affix comes to express the wife thereof, the augment आनुक् is optional. Thus मतुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor'.

*Vart* :—And there is not the change to the lingual ष् of the dental ष् of the augment आनुक् (VIII. 4. 2) after the word आचार्य ॥ Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'.

*Vart* :—After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally : when the matrimonial relation is not intended but the word retains its own sense. Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class', क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'. When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only डीष् is added. As अर्या 'the wife of a Vaishya', क्षत्रिया 'the wife of a Kshatriya'.

*Vart* :—In the Chhandas, the affix डीष् with the augment आनुक् is added to the word मुगल; and the affix is treated as if it had an indicatory ह् ॥ The force of the indicatory ह् is to make the vowel preceding the affix, take the acute accent (VI. 1. 193 लिति). Thus रथारमुग् मुगलानी गविष्टौ ॥ (Rig Veda X. 102. 2).

क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतात्, करण-पूर्वात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥  
वृत्ति ॥ क्रीतशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकात् करणपूर्वात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50 The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought.

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member. Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth'; so also वसनक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for dress'.

Why do we say "when the first member of the compound is the name of the means"? Observe सुक्रीता 'well purchased', दुष्क्रीता 'ill-purchased'. But why is not the affix डीष् employed in धनक्रीता in the following verse :—  
सा हितस्य धनक्रीता प्राणेष्वपि गरीयसी 'she purchased in exchange of riches is more dear to him than life'. Here the word क्रीत has first taken the affix टप् form-

ing क्रीता and then this feminine word is compounded with धन ॥ The general rule is गतिकारकोपपदानो कृद्धिः सहसमासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पन्ने: "Gati, Kārakas and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with Kṛit-affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter". The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II. 1. 32).

कादल्पाख्यायाम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ काद्, अल्पाख्यायाम्, (करणपूर्वाद् डीष् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकान् कान्तदल्पाख्यायाम् डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix डीष् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting the means wherewith, is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'.

The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting the means where with', of the last sūtra governs this also. The participle in क्, must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्, to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection therewith. The अल्पाख्या-याम् of the sūtra qualifies the whole word. Thus अन्नविलिप्तिं यो: 'a sky covered slightly with clouds', सुपविलिप्तिं पात्री 'a dish slightly covered with soup'.

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनानुलिप्ता ब्राह्मणी "a Brāhmanī lady covered with sandal essence?"

यदुग्रीहेऽन्तोदात्तात् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ यदुग्रीहेः, च, अन्त-उदात्तात्, (कात् स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यदुग्रीह्योऽन्तोदात्तस्त्वस्मान् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तोदात्ताज्जातप्रतिषेधः ॥ वा० ॥ पाणिगृहीत्यादीनामर्थं विशेषे ॥

वा० ॥ अबहुनश्चकाल सुखादिपूर्वादिनि वक्तव्यम् ॥

52. The affix डीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrīhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्, has an acute accent on the last syllable.

The word क्कात् of the last aphorism governs this also. This sūtra applies to those Bahuvrīhi compounds in which the first member is a *svāṅga* word. But if the antecedent member is not a *svāṅga* word, then the application of the rule is optional. As शंसिन्नी 'having a rent on the temporal bone', ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh'. गलकोक्छणी (गलमुक्छमस्या), केचलूनी ॥ By II. 2. 36 Vārt जातिकालसुखादिभ्यः परवचनम्, the Nishṭhā stands in the second place, otherwise by II. 2. 36 it ought to have formed the first member of the

compound. The words ढंख &c. are jāti words, and by VI. 2. 170, the acute is on the final.

Why do we say "after a Bahuvrīhi compound?" Observe ढाढपतित्ता which is an Ablative Tatpurusha compound (II. 2. 38). The compounding is by II. 1. 32, and it has acute on the final by VI. 2. 144.

*Vārt*:—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle आत 'born', which is also acutely accented on the final. Thus इतआता 'a female who has cut her teeth'; तवआता 'a female whose breast has been developed'. See II. 2. 36 *Vārt*.

*Vārt*:—In the case of words ढाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only. Thus ढाणिगृहीती 'a wife'; (अभिशासिकं यस्याः ढाणिगृहीते); but ढाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c.'

*Vārt*:—Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words:—बहु, नम, लु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, अकृता, सुकृता, नासआता, सवत्सरआता, सुखआता or दुःखआता &c.

Bahuvrīhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI. 2. 170 and the following.

अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदाद्वा ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-स्वाङ्ग-पूर्वपदात्, वा, (अन्तोदात्तात् कात् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां ढीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्वाङ्ग पूर्वपदादन्तोदात्तात् कान्ताद् बहुव्रीहेः स्त्रियां वा ढीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं संज्ञाछन्दसोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

53. The affix ढीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a Bahuvrīhi compound ending in क्, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and कान्तात् govern this sūtra. This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory. Thus ढाङ्गङ्ग, is a word having acute accent on the final (VI. 2. 170), but as the first portion of this Bahuvrīhi is not a *Svānga* word, but a *jāti* word, its feminine will be ढाङ्गङ्गधी or ढाङ्गङ्गधा ॥ So also पलाण्डुभक्षिती or पलाण्डुभक्षिता and सुपपीती or सुपपीता ॥

Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svānga* word'? Observe ढंखभिन्नी, ऊढभिन्नी which admit of only one form.

If the final is not acutely accented, the rule will not apply. As वल्लच्छन्ना and वसनच्छन्ना which are not acutely accented on the final (See VI.

2. 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or **आच्छादन**, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI. 2. 170.

*Vart*:—Diversely in the Chhandas and in Names. As **महृद्धविद्वन्** or **महृद्धविद्वन्** ॥

**स्वाङ्गाधोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गात्, च, उपसर्जनात्, असंयोग-उपधात्, (वा स्त्रियां ङीष्)**

**वृत्तिः ॥** स्वाङ्गयुपसर्जनमसंयोगोपधं तदन्तात्पातिपादिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

**वार्तिकम् ॥** भङ्गात्कण्ठेऽश्च इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

54. And the feminine affix **ङीष्** comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (i. e. the final **अ** is not preceded by a double consonant).

The *Anuvṛitti* of the words **बहुव्रीहः**, **कान्तादन्तोरात्तात्** does not extend to this aphorism. But the *anuvṛitti* of the word **वा** 'optionally' does extend to this Sūtra. Thus **चन्द्रमुखी** or **चन्द्रमुखा**, **अतिकेरी** or **अतिकेरा** ॥ The word **अतिकेरा** is a Tatpurusha compound meaning **अतिक्रान्ता केरात्**, and **केरा** is *upasarjana* by I. 2. 44.

Why do we say "what ends with the name of a part of the body"? Observe **बहुव्रीह** 'having much barley'. Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness **अशिखा** "without crest" (where the **शिखा** is not subordinate or epithetical). Why do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness **सुगुल्फा**, **सुधाश्वा** ॥

*Vart*:—This rule applies to a compound ending with the word **अङ्ग**, **गात्र** and **कण्ठ**, though in all these, the penultimate is a double consonant. Thus **सुहृद्गी** or **सुहृद्गा**; **सुगात्री** or **सुगात्रा**, **स्निग्धकण्ठी** or **स्निग्धकण्ठा** ॥

The word **स्वाङ्ग** has a technical meaning as given in the following verse:—

**अद्वये मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणित्यमविकारजनम् ।**

**अतस्तथं तद्वद्वत् चेत् तेन चेत् तत्तयाद्युतम् ॥**

A word denoting a thing which not being a fluid, is capable of being perceived by the senses because of its having a form, is *svāṅga*; it must exist in a living being, but not produced by a change from the natural state; or though found elsewhere actually, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being.

नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाश्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-उदर-ओष्ठ-  
जङ्घा-दन्त-कर्ण-शृङ्गात्, च, ( स्वांगात् स्त्रियां वा डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकाद्यन्ताद्यातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां वा डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ कबरमणिविषघरेभ्योभित्त्यम् ॥

वा० ॥ उपमानात्पक्षाच्च पुच्छाच्च ॥

55. And the feminine डीप् comes optionally after compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip' जङ्घा 'leg', दन्त 'a tooth', कर्ण 'ear', and शृङ्ग 'horn'.

This is an exception to the last and the succeeding sūtra. Some of the words above given are either such which have a conjunct penultimate letter, and thus beyond the scope of IV. 1. 54; or they are polysyllabic words and thus covered by IV. 1. 56. Though this rule is an exception to 54 and 56; yet it is qualified by IV. 1. 57. Thus तुङ्गनासिका or तुङ्गनासिकी, तिलोदरी or तिलोदर, दिम्बोष्ठी or दिम्बोष्ठा, शीघ्रजंघी or शीघ्रजंघा, समदन्ती or समदन्ता, चारुकर्णी or चारुकर्णा, तीक्ष्णशृङ्गी or तीक्ष्णशृङ्गा ॥

Vart :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As कल्याणपुच्छा or कल्याणपुच्छी ॥

Vart :—The affix *nish* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर, मणि, विष and घर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and घरपुच्छी ॥

Vart :—So also the feminine affix *nish* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना, उलूकपुच्छी शाला ॥

न क्रोडादियङ्गचः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, क्रोड-आदि-यद्-अचः, ( स्त्रियां डीप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रोडाद्यन्ताद् बहुवचन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

56. The feminine affix डीप् does not come after a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा 'the flank &c, of a horse', nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables.

The class क्रोड &c. is ākriti-gaṇa, that is a class of words constituted by usage. The following are some of the examples:—As कल्याणक्रोडा, कल्याणक्षुर, कल्याणोष्ठा, कल्याणशाला, कल्याणशफा, कल्याणशुभा, कल्याणपाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c. Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजयना, वृजयना, महाल्लादा, ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrīhi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pūngvad-bhāva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I. 2. 48).



सहज् विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह-नञ्-विद्यमान-पूर्वात्, च, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सह नञ् विद्यमानइत्येवं पूर्वान् प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

57. The affix डीप् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'.

Thus संकेशा, भ्रुकेशा विद्यमानकेशा ॥ So also सनासिका भ्रनासिका or विद्यमाननासिका ॥ The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV. 1. 55 ante: as well as IV. 1. 54

नक्षमुखात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्ष-मुखात्, संज्ञायां, (स्त्रियां डीप् न) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षमुखान्ताप्रातिपदिकत्संज्ञायां स्त्रियां विषये डीप् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

58. The feminine affix डीप् is not employed after नक्ष, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name.

Thus शूर्प + नखा, = शूर्पणखा, Śārpaṇakhā the sister of Rāvaṇa. The न् is changed into ण् by VIII. 4. 3 (पूर्वपदान् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also वज्रणखा, गोरमुख्या, कालमुख्या &c. Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel', or चन्द्रमुखी 'moon-faced'

दीर्घजिह्वी च छन्दसि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी, च, छन्दसि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दीर्घजिह्वी इति छन्दसिविषये निषाध्यते ॥

59. The form दीर्घजिह्वी 'long-tongued' is irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The word दीर्घजिह्वी is the feminine of दीर्घजिह्व but as the latter has a conjunct consonant for its penultimate, the feminine affix डीप् would not have applied to it by IV. 1. 54. The present aphorism enjoins डीप् ॥ Thus दीर्घजिह्वी in the sentence दीर्घजिह्वी वै देवानां हव्यमलेह ।

The word च 'and' in the aphorism is used in order to draw in the word संज्ञा from the last, so that the word *dirgha-jihvī* is always a Name. Moreover by using the feminine form *dirgha-jihvī* in the sūtra, it is indicated that the application of डीप् is necessary and not optional, as was the case in the last sūtras.

दिक्पूर्वपदान् डीप् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदान्, डीप्, (स्त्रियां) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दिक् पूर्वपदाप्रातिपदिकान् डीप्, प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

60. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a Nominal stem which is preceded by a word signifying direction. -

This aphorism over-rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sūtras 54 to 58. Whereever by those rules there would have been डीप्, the present enjoins डीप् instead. Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent ; the affix डीप् being anudātta (III. i. 4). Thus प्राङ्मुखी or प्राङ्मुखा, प्राङ्नासिका or प्राङ्नासिका, But not so in प्राङ्मुखा ; or प्राङ्कोडा or प्राङ्गघना because these words do not take डीप् (by IV. I. 56), therefore they never give occasion to the application of डीप् ॥ The sūtra ought to be read as if it contained two rules (1) the affix डीप् comes after a compound the first member of which is a word denoting direction and the second is a svānga word or is the word नासिका &c. the penultimate not being a conjunct consonant, (2) but डीप् is not added to Compounds ending in कोडा &c. or in a word of more than two syllables. In other words the sūtra may be translated "डीप् is the substitute of डीप् when the first member is a word denoting direction". Therefore the affix डीप् will come only there, where else the affix डीप् would have come and not otherwise. This is the reason why the anuvṛitti of डीप् is taken in the next sūtra (IV. I. 61) and not that of डीप् ॥

वाहः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहः, (डीप् स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां डीप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The feminine affix डीप् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह ॥

The anuvṛitti of डीप् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of डीप्, though the latter was nearer. The word वाह is formed from the root वाह् with the affix लिङ् (III. 2. 64). The word वाह is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vāh." Thus दिव्यौही 'sustaining the demon.' This form is thus evolved :—दिव्य + वाह् + डीप् = दिव्य + ऊह् + आह् + डीप् (VI. 4. 132 वाह ऊह्, Uṭh is the samprasārana of vāh, when this is a *bha*) = दिव्य + ऊह् + डीप् (VI. 1. 108) संप्रसारणाच्च 'after a samprasārana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute', = दिव्यौही (VI. 1. 89 एत्येधत्सुहसु 'vṛiddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or *ūth* follow'). Similarly प्रवृद्धौही 'a young heifer training for the plough.'

सख्यशिर्ष्वीति भाषायाम् ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सखी-अशिर्ष्वी, इति, भाषायां ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सखी अशिर्ष्वी इत्येतौघञौ डीप्न्तो भाषायां निपात्येते ॥

62. The forms सखी and अशिर्ष्वी are irregular forms ending in डीप् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to (Vedic) Sanskrit.

Thus सखीयं मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्याः शिष्यास्तीति = अशिर्ष्वी ॥ Why do we say

in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखा सप्तपरीभव and अघिशुमिव नामवं शिशुपतिन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as भाधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिभी ॥ सखी सप्तपरी भव ॥

जातेरखी विषयादयोपधात् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातेः, अखीविषयात्, अयोपधात्, (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातिवाचि यथातिपरिकं नच स्त्रियमेव नियतमस्त्री विषयमयकारोपधं तस्मात् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे ह्य गवय मुकय मत्स्यमनुष्याणाम् प्रतिषेधः ॥

63. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a word denoting a jāti or species when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter ष् for its penultimate.

The word जाति was defined under Sūtra I. 2. 52. Thus कुक्कुटी 'a hen'; सूकरी 'a she-hog', ब्राह्मणी 'Brāhmani'; वृषली 'a woman of the Sūdra caste', नादावनी 'a woman of Nadayana class', चारयणी 'a Chārāyaṇī', कवी 'a woman of Brahmins who read the Kāṭha', बह्वृषी 'a woman of the class of Brahmins who read the Rig Veda'.

Why do we say "expressive of a jāti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jāti but a quality). Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness मक्षिका 'a fly' (supposed to breed without a male). Why do we say "not having the letter ष् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'.

Vārt:—In excluding words that have the letter ष् as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words which have a penultimate ष् viz, गवय 'the Bos Gaveans', हय 'horse', मुकय 'a sort of animal', मत्स्य 'a fish', and मनुष्य 'a man'. Thus गवयी, हयी, मनुषी, (VI. 4. 150 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the ष् of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी ॥ The ष् of matsya is elided by the vārtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम्' ॥ See also VI. 4. 149. All these words are also included in the class गौरदि (IV. 1. 41.) and would have taken डीष् independently of this vārtika.

Another definition of jāti is :—

प्रादुर्भावविनाशाभ्यां सत्वस्य युगपद्गुणैः ।

असर्वलिङ्गां बहुव्रीयां तां जातौ कवयो विदुः ॥ (See translation under I. 2. 52)

पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाद्य ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि पाक-कर्ण-पर्ण-पुष्प-फल-मूल-वाल-उत्तरपदात्, च (स्त्रियां डीष्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाकादि उत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः प्रातिपरिकान् स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ पुष्पफलमूलोत्तरपदान् नु यतोनेष्यते सर्वआदिषु पठ्यते ॥ यथा सध्याक्काण्डमान्तघातैकेभ्यः पुष्पात् ॥

संभस्त्राजिनघण पिण्डेभ्यः फलात् ॥ मूलान्ममः ॥

64. And the feminine affix डीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jāti, followed by the following, पाक 'cooked', कर्ण 'ear', पर्ण 'leaf', पुष्प 'flower', फल 'fruit', मूल 'root', and बाल 'youth'.

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females and therefore were not provided by the last sūtra. Thus भोरनपाकी, संककुर्णी, घालपणी, संखपुष्पी, हासीफली इर्मल्ली, and गोबाली ॥

When, however the affix डीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajādi class (IV. 1. 4) ; such as संफला, मल्लफला, सत्पुष्पा, अमूला &c.

इतो मनुष्यजातेः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, मनुष्य-जातेः, ( स्त्रियां डीष् )

वृत्तिः ॥ इकारान्ताव्यातिपदिकान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिनः स्त्रियां डीष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इम उपसंख्यानमजात्यर्थम् ॥

65. The feminine affix डीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men.

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti', कुन्ती 'women of Kunti', दाक्षी 'Dakshi'. Thus अवन्ति + ज्यङ् (IV. 1. 171) भावन्त्यः 'men of Avanti'. In the feminine this affix by IV. 1. 176 is elided. प्लाक्षी "the female descendants of Plaksha". Why do we say "ending in short इ" ? Witness विद् 'Vaishya', दरत् 'Darat'. Why do we say "of men" ? Witness तिमितिः 'partridge'. Though the anuvṛitti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV. 1, 63, its repetition here indicates that डीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is इ. Thus भोरनयी ॥

Vart:—This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इङ् (IV. 2. 80) though they do not denote a jāti. Thus सौतंगमी, मौनचिनी ॥ The affix इङ् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV. 2. 80 and ordained to come after सुतंगम् &c, and does not denote a jāti.

ऊङुतः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊङ्, उतः, (मनुष्यजातेः स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उकारान्तामनुष्यजातिवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकान् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अप्राणिजातेभ्यश्चास्तीनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

66. After a Nominal-stem ending in short उ, not having the letter य as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvṛitti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sūtra to complete it. Thus कुरूः 'a female of the country of the Kurus' ब्रह्मबन्धूः "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmins so called", जीवबन्धूः "a woman of the Jivabandhu class",

Thus कृ + ण्व-कौरवः IV. 1. 172, and this affix is elided by IV. 1. 176 in the feminine.

The indicatory letter ह् in कह् is to distinguish this affix in Sûtras like नोह् धात्वोः (VI. 1. 175), for had the affix been enunciated merely as कृ, then the Sûtra VI. 1. 175 would have run as नो धात्वोः and the sense would have been ambiguous, for we could not have known what affix was particularly meant there.

The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कृ, for a short उ would have also given the form कृ (कृ + उ = कृ) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कृ, enjoined by V. 4. 154, in Bahuvrhiis, will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मवन्धूः and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha.

Why do we say "not having the letter ह् as its penultimate"? Witness अभ्यर्ध्याह्वणी 'a woman of the class of Brahmanas versed in the Yajur Veda'.

*Vart:*—The affix कह्. comes under similar conditions after words denoting non-animate jāti, except the words रज्जु &c. Thus बलाहूः 'the bottle-gourd'; कर्कन्धूः 'the jujube tree.' Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकूः 'a kind of lizard.' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जुः 'rope'; हनुः 'cheek' &c.

बाहुन्तात्संज्ञायाम् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-अन्तात्, संज्ञायाम्, ( स्त्रियां ऊङ् ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ बाहुपदान्ता त्वातिपदिकात्संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

Thus भद्रबाहुः 'Bhadrabâhû'; जालबाहुः &c. Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृण्बाहुः 'a woman having rounded hand' which is an attributive word. In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine.

पङ्गेश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पङ्गोः, च, ( स्त्रियां ऊङ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पङ्गुपदानात् स्त्रियामूङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवतुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च वक्तव्यः ॥

68. The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame'.

As पङ्गु 'a female lame'.

*Vart:*—The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to भवतुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter व of the word. As भवतुः 'mother-in-law' This debars the puṇyoga डीप् of IV. 1. 48.

ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्ये ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊरु-उत्तरपदात्, औपम्ये ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ ऊरुत्तरपदादौपम्येपरिकारौपम्ये गन्धमाने स्त्रियामूढ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The feminine affix ऊरु comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant.

Thus कण्ठस्तम्भोरुः 'a female with thighs like plantain-stem'. नासोरुः 'a female with thighs like the nose of an elephant'; करभोरुः 'a female with thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'.

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरुः स्त्री 'a woman with round thighs'. The word कोणुकरोरु 'thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (कोणु)' is a poetic irregularity in the following विचक्रे च कोणुकरोरुभिः ॥

संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ संहित, शफ, लक्षण, वामादेः च ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ संहित शफ लक्षण वाम इत्येवमादिः प्रातिपदिकापूर्वकारपदान् स्त्रियामूढ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ संहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

70 The feminine affix ऊरु comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it.

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended. As संहितोरुः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e. g. from obesity)'. शफोरुः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cow's foot', लक्षणोरुः 'whose thighs are marked', वामोरुः 'with handsome thighs.'

*Vārt:*—So also with the words संहित and सह. As संहितोरुः and सहोरुः ॥

कद्रुकमण्डल्वोच्छन्दसि ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्रु, कमण्डल्वोः, छन्दसि ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुशब्दात्कमण्डलुशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये स्त्रियामूढ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ गुग्गुलुमधुजतुपतयालूनामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. The feminine affix ऊरु comes in the Vedas after the words कद्रु 'tawny,' and कमण्डलु 'a water pot.'

Thus कद्रुशब्दे सुपर्णी च ॥ मात्मकमण्डलुं गृह्णाव इत्यात् ॥

Why do we say "in the Vedas." Witness कद्रुः and कमण्डलुः ॥

*Vārt:*—So also after the words गुग्गुलु, मधु, जतु and पतयालुः ॥ Thus गुग्गुलुः,

मधुः, जतुः, and पतयालुः ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कद्रुकमण्डलुशब्दाभ्यां संज्ञायां विषये स्त्रियामूढ् प्रत्ययो भवति । मण्डल्वोर्ये वचनम् ॥

72. The feminine affix ऊरु comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु.

This rule applies to other than Vedic forms. Thus कद्रुः 'a female named Kadrū wife of Kāśyapa', कण्डदः 'Kamaṇḍalū'. Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रुः 'the tawny color.' कण्डदः 'a water-gourd.'

शार्ङ्गरवाद्यो हीन् ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादि, अम्, हीन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शार्ङ्गरवादिभ्योऽम्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपरिकेभ्यः शिवां हीन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The feminine affix हीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरव and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अम् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sārṅgrava woman', कापटवी 'a Kāpatava woman'. So also after a word formed with the affix अम् (as ordained in S. 86, and 104 &c. of this chapter), as, बेदी 'a female descendant of Bida'. और्वी 'a female descendant of Urva'. This sūtra applies to words expressing jāti or kind. In other words, this aphorism debars the affix हीन् of IV. 1. 63 &c. where it came "after jāti-vāchaka words; but it does not debar that हीन् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the हीन् of IV. 1. 48.

The difference between हीन् and हीन् consists in accent only, the resultant forms otherwise being the same. The words formed by हीन् will have *udatta* accent on the first syllable अस्त्वादिर्नित्यम् (VI. 1. 197 a word ending with an affix having an indicatory स् or न् has *udatta* accent on the first syllable) : while the word formed by हीन् will have acute accent on the affix. Thus बेदी 'a female descendant of Bida', and बेदी 'the wife of Baida'.

The following is a list of Sārṅgaravādi class words:—

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौगुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 वैव, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अम् the first four being formed by the अम् of (IV. 1. 83) from शृङ्ग, कपट, गुग्गुलु and ब्राह्मन्; the word गौतम is formed from गौतम by the अम् of IV. 1. 114. This word is also included in Gaurādi class IV. 1. 41. 7 कामण्डलेव, 8 ब्राह्मकुलेव, 9 आनिचव, 10 आनिधेव, 11 आणीकेव ॥ These are formed by इक् (IV. 1. 123) except kāmāṇḍaleya which is formed by इम् (IV. 1. 135). 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौञ्जायन ॥ These are formed by ऋक् of IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99, and denote castes or Gotra. 14 कैकलेव is also formed by इक् (IV. 1. 123). 15 काव्य 16 कृष्य are formed by ञ्यङ् (IV. 1. 171). 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ + इह 'to try', and परि + आ + इह (U. IV. 117 सर्व धातुभ्य इन्) 19 आभरथ is formed by यम् (IV. 1. 105). 20 भौतपान is formed by अम् (IV. 3. 76). 21 भणत, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वण्डः are jāti words. 24 भोगवन्, 25 गौरिवन् ॥ These take हीन् when denoting a Name. These words are formed by the affix नृत्, and are consequently ङगित्, and should have taken हीन् (IV. 1. 6). This ordains हीन् ॥

Q. The word भोग is formed by यम् and गौरि is formed by इम् (IV. 1. 95), both are ādyuddatta owing to ञ् (VI. 1. 197). When नृत् is added, the accent remains unchanged, for *matup* being तित् is anudatta (III. 1. 4). There-

fore whether हीप् be added or हीन् to these words, it makes no difference in the accent, for they remain ādyudātta. Where is the necessity of including these two words in this list.

Ans. To this we reply चादिषु निवृत्त्यङ् इत्वार्यङ् ॥ For had these words taken हीप् of IV. 1. 6, then the long ई would have been optionally shortened before the affixes च &c. by VI. 3. 45. But by taking हीन् the shortening is compulsory (VI. 3. 43), and not optional. Because the च in the sūtra उगितच (VI. 3. 45) has the force of the word उगिति, and means the नवी words formed by adding ई to उगित् words, by enunciating the word उगित् are optionally shortened. Therefore IV. 1. 6 where the word उगित् is used is governed by this rule of optional shortening, and not the words formed by हीन् ॥

26 वृ 27 नर. The word वृ would have taken हीप् by IV. 1. 5, and नर would have taken हीप् as it denotes a jāti. These words take vṛiddhi before हीन्, the form being नारी in both cases.

यङश्चाप् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यङः, चाप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यङन्ताप्यातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति । अङ्गः प्यङ्गस्य सामान्यमङ्गमेतत् ॥  
वाचिकम् ॥ पाच यङः ॥

74. The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix अङ् or प्यङ् ॥

The affix अङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes अङ् (as taught in S. 171 of this chapter) and प्यङ् (See 78) as it is the common element of both. Thus आम्बश्या 'a woman of the race of Ambashthya', सौवीर्या 'a woman of the race of Sauvīrya', कौसल्या 'a woman of the race of Kausalya'.

Similarly प्यङ् formed words, as, कारीरगन्ध्या, वाराह्या ; बालाभ्या ॥

Vṛti:—The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix अङ् when the letter ण् immediately precedes such yañ. As सार्कारक्ष्य 'a female descendant of Sarkarāksha', पौतिमाष्या 'a female descendant of Pūtimāshya', गौकाक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Gokasha'. These words belong to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105), and by sūtra 16 would have taken हीप् ॥

The ण् of the affix चाप् is for the sake of forming a common term भाप् with डाप् and टाप् ; and the च regulates the accent making the final acute (VI. 1. 163). The word गौकाक्ष्य is included in Krauḍādi list (IV. 1. 80) and takes the augment अङ् in the feminine, and hence it would have taken चाप् by force of the present sūtra and need not be included in the Vārtika. There is no Samprasāraṇa of the च when पुच or पति is added to this word (VI. 1. 13), the form being गौकाक्ष्यापुचः and not गौकाक्षीपुचः ॥

आवत्याद्य ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवत्यात्, च, (स्त्रियां चाप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आवत्याच्च स्त्रियां चाप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥



75. And the feminine affix चाप् comes after the word आवत्य ॥

The word आवत्य belongs to Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) which after taking वप्, would have taken ङीप् (IV. 1. 16). Thus आवत्या 'a female descendant of Avaṭa'. But आवत्यायनी will be the proper form according to the Eastern Grammarians. See aphorism IV. 1. 17.

तद्धिताः ॥७६॥ पदानि ॥ तद्धिताः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् । आपञ्चभाष्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्यानि कर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तद्धितसंज्ञास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

76. The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after.

This is an adhikāra or governing sūtra. Up to the end of the Fifth Book, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita. Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sūtra. As वृत्तिः The word so formed is called Prātipadika. The word तद्धिताः is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the words प्रत्ययः (III. 1. 1) &c; and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book. Such as वृथिष्व माप्ते ॥ अमादि पञ्चाद् दिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव, भूमिन्, आदिन्, पश्चिन् ॥ See Vārt IV. 3. 23. The word Taddhita is used in Sūtras like कृतद्धितसमासाच्च I. 2. 46.

यूनस्तिः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युवन्पञ्चाध्यातिपदिकान् स्त्रियां निः प्रत्ययो भवति । स च तद्धितसंज्ञो भवति ॥

77. The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita.

As युवति: 'a young maid'. By IV. 1. 5, ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sūtra debars it. The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीप् of IV. 1. 65, for the affix ति itself is a feminine-making affix though a Taddhita: or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jāti word and hence IV. 1. 65 would not apply.

अणिञोरनार्थयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः प्यङ् गोत्रे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण् इञोः अना-  
र्थयोः, गुरुपोत्तमयोः, प्यङ्, गोत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे यावदणिञो विहितान्वार्षो तदन्तयोः प्रातिपदिकयोर्गुरुपोत्तमयोः स्त्रियां प्यङ्गोरेषो भवति । निर्विश्वमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिञोरेव विज्ञायते ॥ उत्तमपञ्चः स्वभावाद् विप्रभूतीनामन्त्यक्षरमाह उत्तमस्य सतीपमुपोत्तमं, गुरुः उपोत्तमं यस्य तद्गुरुपोत्तमं प्रातिपदिकम् ॥

78. In Patronymics used in a narrower sense (counting first from the grand-child), which are formed with the affixes अण् and इञ्, the feminine is formed by substituting

य (प्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes and adding the long आ under IV. 1. 74; provided that they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable,

The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis. It consists of five words: (1) अणिमो: 'of अण् and इम्,' (2) अनार्ययो: 'of non-rishi' (3) गुरु-पोननयो: 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i. e. last but one,' (4) प्यङ् 'the substitute is shyah' (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotra.' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इम् are replaced by प्यङ् before the feminine affix चार्, in those words which denoting non-rishi gotras, have a heavy vowel as last but one. The word *uttama* meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tama*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables. Therefore, the present sūtra does not apply to forms like वासि &c.

Of the substitute प्यङ् the letter ण् and इ are indicatory, the real affix is च, the letter च differentiating this affix from अ्यङ् and the letter इ affording a common hold for both. In forming the feminine we shall have to add चार् by IV. 1. 74. Thus करीषगन्धि 'having the smell of dung-cake', is the name of a person. In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV.1. 92) Replace this affix by प्य and we have कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ कुमुदगन्धि: gives us कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इम् (as taught in sūtra अतइम् IV. 1. 75): as वाराहि: gives us वाराह्या, so also बालक्या ॥

Why do we say 'of अण् and इम्' ॥ Witness आर्तभाग from ऋतभाग ॥ Here the word ऋतभाग belongs to विसारि gaṇa, and therefore by IV. 1. 104, it would take the affix अम् in forming gotra patronymic: this affix अम् is not replaced by प्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV. 1. 15); for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non-rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इम् ॥

Why do we say 'of non-rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामिनी ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी and कापरवी ॥ Why do we say 'denoting Gotra'? Witness आहिच्छत्री 'born in Ahichhatra', कान्यकुब्जी 'born in Kanyakubja'.

गोत्रावयवात् ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-अवयवात् (स्त्रियां प्यङ्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अणिमोरित्येव । गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमतः कुलाख्याः पुनिकमुनिकमुखरप्रभृतयः, स्ततो गोत्रे वि-  
हितयोरणिमोः स्त्रियां प्यङ्कारेणो भवति ॥

79. After a word denoting a non-principal gotra, प्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इम्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long.

The phrase **अभिप्रोः** of the last sūtra governs this also, not so, however, the word **अगुरुपोत्तमः** ॥ The phrase **गोत्रावयव** means insignificant or non-famous gotras i. e. names of kulas i. e. कुलाख्या, such as families like पुत्रिक, भुजिक, मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list. Thus **पौत्रिक्य**, **भौजिक्य** and **मौख्य** ॥

The word **अवयव** in the sūtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c. If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like **देवदत्ता दासदत्ता** ॥ These forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the **कौटुम्बिक** class of the next aphorism. In short, those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant, which means a grandson and down ; can also do so.

In fact the word **गोत्रावयव** is equal to **अवयवगोत्र** or **अप्रधानगोत्र** and is a **karmadhāraya samāsa**, namely gotras not enumerated in the **प्रवरपञ्चाशदः** ॥ These are, however, technically called **कुल** ॥

**कौटुम्बादिभ्यश्च** ॥ ८० ॥ **पदानि** ॥ **कौटि-आदिभ्यः, च, (स्त्रियां प्यङ्)**

**वृत्तिः** ॥ कौटि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च स्त्रियां प्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति । अगुरुपोत्तमार्थं आरम्भः । अभिप्रमर्त्य ॥

80. The affix **प्यङ्** comes in the feminine after the words **कौटि** and the rest.

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix **अण्** or **इम्** ॥ In fact **प्यङ्** is not a substitute here but an augment. Thus **कौटुषा** 'a female Krauḍi', **लाडषा** 'a female Lāḍi'. The following is the list of **Krauḍādi** words :—

1 **कौटि**, 2 **लाडि**, 3 **प्याडि**, 4 **आपिषादि**, 5 **आपिषति**. These are formed by **इङ्** (IV. 1. 95). 6 **चौपयत**, 7 **चैद्यत** ( **वेद्यत** ), 8 **शैकयत** ( **शेकयत** ) 9 **वैस्वयत** ( **वैकल्पयत** ), These are formed by the affix **अण्** ॥ 10 **सौधातकि**. This is formed by **इङ्** with the substitute **अकङ्** (IV. 1. 97) added to **सुधातृ** ॥ 11 **सूतपुत्रत्यान्** The word **सूत** takes **प्यङ्** when denoting a grown-up maiden as **सूत्या**; otherwise **सूता** 'a daughter', formed by **टाप्**, or **सूती** by **ङीप्** denoting a **jāti**. 12 **भोज भविषे** ॥ This debars **ङीप्** of **jāti** as **भोज्या**; otherwise **टाप्** as **भोजा**: ( **भोजयति** ). 13 **भौतकि**, 14 **कौटि**, 15 **भौरिकी**, 16 **भौलिकि**, 17 **घाल्मति**, 18 **घालात्यति**, 19 **कापिष्ठति**, 20 **गौकश्च** ( **गौल्मश्च** ) ॥ All these except the last are formed by **इङ्**, the last is formed by **ङङ्** of **Gargādi** class.

**दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्निं काण्डेविद्धिभ्यो, अन्यतरस्याम्** ॥ ८१ ॥ **पदानि** ॥

**दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्नि, काण्डेविद्धिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्** ॥

**वृत्तिः** ॥ दैवयज्ञि शौचिवृक्षि सात्यमुग्नि काण्डेविद्धि इत्येतेषामन्यतरस्यांप्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix **प्यङ्** optionally comes after the words **दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्नि** and **काण्डेविद्धि** ॥

These words end in the affix इस्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sūtra. In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyah would have come by IV. 1. 78. but whereas by that sūtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional. But if the sūtra be taken to apply to 'immediate descendants' as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV. 1. 87. In the alternative when प्यङ् is not added, ङीप् will be added by rule IV. 1. 65 ante. Thus देवयस्या or देवयसी, so also घोषिवृश्या or घोषिवृशी, सात्यमुग्न्या or सात्यमुपी, काण्डेविद्या or काण्डेवित्री ॥

समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ समर्थानां, प्रथमात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अद्यमप्यधिक्रियते, समर्थानामिति च, प्रथमादिति च वेति च, स्वार्थिकप्रत्ययावधिभायमधिकारः । प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिरिति यावत् । स्वार्थिकेषु ह्यस्योपयोगो नास्ति, विकल्पोऽपि तत्रानवस्थितः, के चिन्मिस्त्वने-  
व भवन्ति । लक्षणवाक्यानिः—तस्यापत्यं, तेन रक्ते रगतात्, तत्रभव, इत्येवमादीनि भविष्यन्ति । तेषु सामर्थ्ये  
सति प्रथमनिर्दिष्टादेव विकल्पेन प्रत्ययो भवतीति वेदितव्यम् ॥ समर्थानामिति निर्द्धारणे षष्ठी । समर्थानां  
मध्ये प्रथमं प्रत्ययप्रकृतित्वेन निर्द्धारिते ॥

82. The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism.

All the three words, viz. (1) समर्थानां 'of the words in construction' (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first ; (3) वा 'on the alternative', exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation : that is to say, up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book ; before the beginning of the sūtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्तिः (V. 3. 1). The present sūtra as a whole, of course, has no applicability to the affixes which leave to the words their own denotation (स्वार्थिक) ; for the latter affixes are in many cases compulsory and not optional, as are the affixes to be taught hereafter in Book Fourth and the first and second chapters of Book Fifth.

These affixes will come after the word, that is signified by the first of the words in construction, in an aphorism. Thus IV. 1. 92 declares तस्य-पत्यम् 'his son'. Here the first word is तस्य 'his', therefore, the affixes forming the patronymics will come after the word signified by 'his': i. e. after the word in the genitive case. As 'उपगोरपत्यं=ओपगवः 'the son of Upagu'. Here the affix अत् comes after the word उपगु which is the first word representing 'tasya' in the genitive case in the sentence उपगोरपत्यम् ॥ Similarly in the sūtra तेनरक्ते रगतात् (IV. 2. 1) ; here the first word is तेन, therefore, the affix will be added to the word in the instrumental case in a sentence representing the word तेन 'by which' ; as कषायेण रक्ते वस्त्रं =काषायम्, 'Kāshāya is a cloth, coloured

by *Kashdya*. Similarly in sūtra तत्र भवः 'there staying' (IV. 3. 53,) here the first word is तत्र, 'there', in the locative case, therefore the affix will be optionally added to the word in the locative case in a sentence, representing the word तत्र 'there' : as सुष्ठु भवः—सौष्ठु—'who stays in Srughna'.

The word सनर्थाणाद् is the genitive plural of सनर्थ, and the force of the genitive is that of specification or 'nirdhāraṇa':—i. e. 'among the words in construction, the *first* is specifically pointed out as the *prakṛiti* or base, to which the affix is to be added'. Why do we say "among the words in construction"? Witness कन्वल उपगोरपत्य देवदत्तस्य 'the blanket of Upagu; the son of Devadatta'. Here the two words उपगोरपत्य are not in construction, for उपगोः governs कन्वलः, and अपत्यं is governed by देवदत्तस्य ॥ Why do we say "after the first"? So that the affix may come after the first word उपगोः in the genitive case, and not after अपत्यं which is in the nominative case, Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence; thus we may say उपगोरपत्य, instead of the Taddhita formed word भोपगवः ॥ The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (samāsa); as उपगवपत्यद् 'the son of Upagu'. In fact, the samāsa rule here is not superseded by Taddhita-rule, as it otherwise would have been by I. 4. 2. because the anuvṛtti of अन्यतरस्याद् is understood here: so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samāsa rules will find scope.

This sūtra has been thus rendered by Dr. Bohtlingk: "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional".

प्राग्दिन्यतोऽण् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्, दीन्यतः अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्दीन्यत्संज्ञकनाद् यानि न ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामोऽण्प्रत्ययस्तत्र भवतीति देहितव्यम् ॥

83. The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter upto the aphorism *tena divyati* &c.

Up to aphorism IV. 4. 2, the affix अण् has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule. This aphorism may be looked upon either as an *adhikāra sūtra* or a *paribhāṣā sūtra* or a *vidhi sūtra*. The application of this aphorism will be illustrated throughout the next three chapters. Thus in IV. 1. 92 तस्यात्यद् we read the present aphorism and add the affix अण् in the sense of 'his son'. As भोपगवः 'the son of उपगुः'; कापटवः 'the son of Kapaṭu'.

This affix has various meanings, such as, a patronymic (IV. 1. 92),

coloured with (IV. 2. 1), sidereal time (IV. 1. 3), revealed sâma-veda (IV. i. 7), covered car (IV. 2. 10) &c.

अभ्यपत्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्यपत्यादिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्यपत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः प्राग्दीप्यतीयेष्वर्थेष्वप्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix अप् comes after the Nominal-stems 'avapati' &c, in the various mentioned senses taught antecedently to tena divyati &c.

This is an exception to the next aphorism, by which the affix ण्व would have come after words ending with 'pati.' The present sūtra enjoins अप् instead. Thus अभ्यपति + अप् = अभ्यपतम् (VII. 2 117 तद्धितेष्वचामहे 'when a Taddhita affix follows with an indicatory म् or ण्व, there is viddhi in the room of the first vowel among the vowels'). The इ of पति is elided by VI. 4. 148 यत्येति च where long ई follows, and when a Taddhita affix follows, there is elision of the इ or ई, or म् or मा, of a *bha*.)

The following is a list of words belonging to अभ्यपत्यादि class :—

1 अभ्यपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 द्युतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति, 6 स्थानपति, 7 यत्तपति, 8 राट्टपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, ( पशुपति ) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्यपति, 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति, 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्यः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिति, अदिति, आदित्य, पति-उत्तरपदात्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिति अदिति आदित्य इत्येतेभ्यः पत्युत्तरपदाश्च प्रातिपदिकात्प्राग्दीप्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु ण्वः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यमाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बाह्मतिपितृमतां छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रुतिष्य आम्नौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ देवायम्नौ ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ बहिषष्टिपथम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकृञ्च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ईकृञ् छन्दसि ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्वाधोक्ताः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऐमोपत्येषुबहुषु ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्र गोरजादिमत्स्यमसङ्गे यन् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ण्य इत्यर्थद्विषेपलक्षणादपवासात्पूर्वदिमतिषेधेन ॥

85. The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena divyati &c, after the Proper Names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya; and that which has the word पति at its final member.

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्यः 'the son of Diti.' आदित्यः 'the descendant of Aditi,' आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya.' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्रजापत्यः; so also सेनापत्यम् ॥

Vart:—So also after the word यम; as, यम्यम् ॥

Vart:—In the Chhandas, after the words बाष्, मति and पितृमन् ॥ As बाष्म्यम् (Vs, 13, 58.) मात्यम् and पितृमत्यम् ॥

*Vārt.*—The affixes ऋ and अण् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ऋ = पार्थिव ; पृथिवी + अण् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV. 1. 4, and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV. 1. 15.

*Vārt.*—The affixes बन् and भण् come after the word देव 'a god'. As देव्यन् or देवन् 'divine'.

*Vārt.*—There is elision of the णि of बहिष्, and there is the affix बन् ; as बहिष् + बन् = बाह्यः 'external'. *Vārt.*—and the affix ईकन् may be employed. As बहिष् + ईकन् = बाह्यिकः 'external'. (VII. 2. 118 किति च, there is vṛddhi of the first vowel when the Taddhita affix has an indicative क). *Vārt.*—In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकन् as बाह्यिकः the difference being in the accent (VI. 1. 197).

The word बहिष् is an अव्यय, and the above vārtika declares that its ṛi portion is elided. This very fact indicates by implication, that the ṛi of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called ऋ bha. In fact the following vārtika अव्यायानाञ्च (the ṛi of the avyaya base is elided) given under sūtra VI. 4. 144 (the ṛi of the base bha is elided when a taddhita affix follows) is not a universal rule. Thus from the avyaya भारन् we get भारती &c ; here the ṛi is not elided.

*Vārt.*—Of the word स्थान् the ṛi is replaced by अ as अभ्यस्थानः ॥

*Vārt.*—The ṛi of लोमन् is replaced by ऋ in the plural when the patronymic affixes follow ; as बहुलोमाः, वरलोमाः ॥ Why do we say in the plural number ? Witness भोदुलोमिः, चारलोमिः (IV. 1. 99).

*Vārt.*—When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो, let the affix यन् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यन् (VI. 1. 79). Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel' ? Observe गोभ्यो हितं or भागतं = गोकव्यन् and गोमयन् ॥

*Vārt.*—These affixes ण्य &c, taught in this sūtra will come, to the exclusion of all the other affixes hereinafter taught, which are employed in especial senses. Thus भण् is employed especially to denote a descendant. But after the words हिति &c भण् will not be employed, but ण्य, as हित्य "a descendant of हिति". So also वानस्पत्यन् = (वानस्पतीनाम् समुहः), to the exclusion of IV. 2. 37 &c. In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परंकार्यम् (I. 4. 2) does not hold good here.

If that be so, how do you explain the form हितेयः ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word हिति but from हित्ति, the feminine of the word हिति, formed by the affix ङीष् (IV. 1. 45, the word हिति being formed by the Kṛit affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take ङीष् in the feminine). To the feminine word हित्ति is added ङ्क् and we get हितेयः ॥ The Paribhāṣā प्रातिपदिकमहणे लिङ्गविधिद्वयापि महणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also,

to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows. Others consider the form *हेतेय* as incorrect, as not to be found either in the *Mahābhāṣya* or any *Vārtika*.

**उत्सादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ उत्स-आदिभ्यः, अङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्सादिभ्यः प्राप्तीव्यतीयेष्वयं प्रत्ययो भवति । अणस्तत्पराणाम् च बाधकः ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ मीमांस्यछन्दसीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

86. The affix *अङ्* comes after the word *उत्स* &c. in the various senses taught antecedently to *tena-dīvyati* &c.

This debars the affix *अङ्* taught in IV. 1. 83 as well as the especial affixes here-in-after taught. Thus *उत्स + अङ् = औत्सः, औत्सानः* ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to *उत्सादि* class.

1 उत्स, 2 उदपान, 9 विकर, 4 दिनर, 5 महानर 6 महानस, 7 महामाण, 8 तरुण, 9 तलुन । 10 वष्क्यासे । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पंक्ति, 14 जगती, 15 विष्टुप्, 16 अनुष्टुप्, 17 अनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उच्चानर, 29 मीष्म, 21 पल्लुकुण् । 22 उदस्थान हेतु । 23 पृष ह्य, 24 भल्लक्रीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मर्ध्विन, 28 बृहन्, 28 महन्, 29 सत्त्वन्, 39 ऊरु, 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह्, 34 कुकुम्, 35 सुवर्ण, 35 देव, 37 मीमांस्यछन्दसि ॥

*Vdt.*—The word *मीष्म* in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody'. Therefore it is not so here : मैष्मी विष्टुप् 'The Graishmi Tristup metre'. But मैष्मः 'belonging to summer'. The word *छन्दसि* here means 'metre', and not *Veda*. The word *वष्क्यासे = वष्क्य असे*, the phrase *असे* meaning *असमासे*, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians). Thus the compound will be *गोवष्क्यः* ॥ The *Paribhāṣā* *महजवता* *मातिपदिकेन तन्त्रे विधिप्रतिषेधः* does not apply here. Therefore, *tadantavidhi* applies here and we have *अधिनवम्* (*अधेनूनाम् समूहः*) ॥ The word *उदस्थान* takes *अङ्* when meaning a 'place': as *औदस्थानो हेतुः*; otherwise *औदस्थनिः* 'the son of *Udasthāna*.' The word *पृषत्* takes *अङ्* when meaning 'a share,' otherwise it will take *अङ्*, as *पार्षतोऽङ्* ॥

**स्त्री पुंसभ्यां नञ् छञौ भवनात् ॥ ८७ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धान्यानां भवने इति वक्ष्यति । तस्य प्रागित्यनेनैव संबन्धः प्राग्भवनसंज्ञाध्वनाद्येर्पास्तेषु स्त्री छ-  
ध्वान्त्यसंज्ञाच्च यथाक्रमं नष्टमसौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

87. The affixes *नञ्* and *छञ्* come after the words *स्त्री* and *पुंस* respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one-as far as "*dhānyānām bhavane kshetre khañ*" (V. 2. 1).

Thus *स्त्री + नञ् = छैनम्* 'feminine.' The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various, Therefore



the word स्त्रीष्व् will have all those various significations ; thus, it will mean either स्त्रीषुभवे (IV. 3. 53) 'existing in females,' or स्त्रीणां समूहः (IV. 2. 37) 'a collection of females; or स्त्रीभ्यामागतं (IV. 3. 74) 'what has come from females'; or स्त्रीभ्यो हितं (V. 1. 5) 'suitable for females' &c.

Similarly पुंस + सम् = पौंस्व् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c.'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V. 1. 115. For Pāṇini himself uses the form पुवत् (and not पौस) in sūtra VI. 3. 34, thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, the affix लम् is not to be used. Thus स्त्रीवत्, ॥ The forms स्त्रीत्, स्त्रीता, पुंसव् and पुंस्त्वा are exceptional. See V. 1. 121. The ह् of पुव् is elided before लम् by VIII. 2. 23. had it not been elided, one affix नम् would have been taught in the sūtra, and not two.

द्विगोलुङ्गनपत्ये ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विगोः, लुक्, अनपत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्ध्वः संबन्धी निमित्तत्वेन तद्धितः प्राणरीष्यतीत्योऽपत्यप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा तस्य लुङ्भवति ॥

88. A Taddhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राणरीष्यतः of IV. 1. 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last. Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः 'prepared in five cups.' Similarly दशकपालः "prepared in ten cups." द्विवेदः 'he who studies two Vedas.' त्रिवेदः "who studies three Vedas." Here the affixes denoting संस्कृतं (IV. 2. 16), and गभीरं (IV. 2. 59) have been elided. Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic."? Observe द्वेदेवराजिः 'a descendant of two Devadattas.' त्रैदेवराजिः 'a descendant of three Devadattas.' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu.

Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati?" Observe द्वेपादयजिकः ॥

The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II. 1. 51. The affix will not, therefore, be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound. Thus पञ्चकपालस्यैव = पञ्चकपालम् ॥ Or the genitive case in द्विगोः may be taken as sthāna-shashṭhi, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक्-elision in the room of Dvigu,' the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the affix which gives rise to Dvigu. Of course, when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided

after such a word, because it becomes a prâtipadika like others, as पांचकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः = पञ्चकपालः ? This is not so ; there is no Taddhita added, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः, ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word. In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः, पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः, and पञ्चकपालः (a Samahâra Dvigu). A Samahâra and a Taddhitârtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृतः will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita.

How do you explain the non-elision of the affix in त्रैविद्यः, पाञ्चनदः and पाङ्कुलः ? The word त्रैविद्यः does not mean तिस्रो विद्यं अधीते but त्रयवयवा विद्यं, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्यः ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनदः does not mean पंचसु नदीषु भवः but पंचानाम् नदीनाम् समाहारः = पंचनदः, पंचनदे भवः = पांचनदः ॥ So also with पाङ्कुलं ॥

Why the affix is not elided in पंचभ्यो गङ्गभ्य आगतं = पंचगङ्गरूप्यम् or पंचगङ्गमयम् ? Because the elision of those affixes only take place which begin with a vowel.

गोत्रेऽलुगचि ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, अलुक्, अचि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रहत्यादिना येषां गोत्रमत्ययानां लुगुक्तस्तेषामजादौ प्राग् दीप्यतीति विषयभूते प्रतिषिद्धते ॥

89. The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sûtras II. 4. 63 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena divyati &c (IV. 4. 2).

Thus the plural of गार्ग्य is गर्गाः (II. 4. 64). But the disciples of गर्गाः will be formed by the affix छ (IV. 21. 114) which is a pragdivyatyā affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix the base will be considered to be गार्ग्यः as if there was no elision. Thus गार्ग्याः + छ = गार्गीयाः (VII. 1. 2 and VI. '4. 151), and not गर्गीयाः । Similarly वात्सीयाः, आत्रयीयाः, खारपायणीयाः, disciples of Vātsyas, Atreyaṣ, Khârpāyaṇas.'

Why do we say "गोत्रे" i. e. "when the Gotra affix is elided"? Observe कोबलम्, बार्दरम् ॥ Here the affix denoting "fruit" is elided by लुक् by Sûtra IV. 3. 163. Then when the pragdivyatyā affix अच् is added, the luk-elision is maintained. Thus the fruit of बर्दरी is बर्दरम्; from which बार्दरम् 'belonging to or coming from the jujube-fruit.'

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्गेभ्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गार्गरूप्यम्; and गर्गमयम्; and not गार्गमयम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य,

a *prâgdivyatiya* affix taught in *sûtra* IV. 3. 81 does not begin with a vowel; therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्गः ॥ Similarly the next affix नयद् (IV. 3. 82).

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a *prâgdivyatiya* affix"? Thus गर्गेभ्यो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'who is fit for the Gargas'. Here the affix ह (V. 1. 1) has the sense of 'suitable for that', as taught in *Sûtra* V. 1. 5 not one of the *prâgdivyatiya* senses. Hence the *luk* elision is maintained.

The *Gotra*-affixes are taught to be elided in the plural only: and when after such supposed elision a Singular or Dual Person is intended, this rule will still apply and there will be no elision. Thus विद् will form its *Gotra* derivative by अम् (IV. 1. 104) as विद् + अम् = वेद्ः ॥ The plural of वेद्ः will be विद्वाः by the elision of अम् ॥ One *yuvan* or two *yuvan* descendants of these विद्वाः will be formed by the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95), for the application of which the word विद्वाः will be supposed not to have lost its अम्, therefore इम् will be added to वेद्, thus वेद् + इम्; then this इम् is elided by II. 4. 58. The resultant form is वेद्ः, वेदो ॥ The many descendants (in the plural) of one वेद्ः or two वेद्ः will be विद्वाः ॥

यूनि लुक् ॥९०॥ पदानि ॥ यूनि लुक् (अचि)

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग् दीप्यत इति वर्तते । अचीति च । प्राग्दीप्यतीयेऽजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते बुद्धित्वेऽनुत्पन्ने एव युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । तस्मिन्निवृत्ते सति यो यतः प्राप्नोति स ततो भवति ॥

90. There is *luk* elision of the *Yuvan* Patronymic forming affix (IV. 1. 163) when a *prâgdivyatiya* affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

The elision of the *Yuvan* affix must take place mentally; having done which, we should then look out for the proper *Prâgdivyatiya* affix to be added to the word-form thus remaining. Thus the Patronymic (*Gotra*) of काण्डाहृतः is काण्डाहृतिः (IV. 1. 95) formed by adding इम् ॥ The *Yuvan* form of the latter (by *Sûtra* IV. 1. 150) will be काण्डाहृतः ॥ When we intend to add a *Prâgdivyatiya* affix to this last word, (e. g. an affix having the sense of "the pupils of";) we should first mentally elide the *Yuvan* affix ण (IV. 1. 150) from this word काण्डाहृतः ॥ Having done which we get the form काण्डाहृतिः; and it is with regard to this form काण्डाहृतिः that we should search out what is the proper pupil-denoting affix: and that by *sûtra* IV. 2. 112 is अण् ॥ Thus काण्डाहृति + अण् = काण्डाहृताः 'the pupils of Phāṇṭāhṛitas'. Had we in the *first* instance applied the pupil denoting affix to the *Yuvan* word काण्डाहृतः, such affix would have been ह and not अण्, for the latter is ordained for those cases only where the word ends with the *Gotra* affix इम् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of भागवत्त is भागवत्ति (IV. 1. 25). The

Yuvan of भागविति is भागवित्तिकः (IV. 1. 148). The pupils of Bhāgavittika will be भागवित्ताः by adding the affix अण् (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly the Patronymic of तिका is तैकायनि formed by क्तिम् (IV. 1. 154). The Yuvan of तैकायनि is तैकायनीय formed by the affix छ (IV. 1. 149). The word denoting the pupils of तैकायनीय will be formed by adding छ (IV. 2. 114) not to this word, but to तैकायनि. Thus तैकायनीयः.

Similarly the Patronymic of कपिञ्जलाह is कपिञ्जलाहिः (IV. 1. 95). The Yuvan derivative of the latter will be कापिञ्जल्ययः (IV. 1. 151). The word denoting pupils of the कापिञ्जल्यय will be कापिञ्जल्ययाः (IV. 2. 112).

Similarly Patronymic from गुरुशुक् is गुरुशुकायनिः (IV. 1. 160), the Yuvan of the latter is गुरुशुकायनः (IV. 1. 83); the word denoting the pupils of the latter is गुरुशुकायनाः by (IV. 2. 112) formed from गुरुशुकायनि. Why do we say "an affix beginning with a vowel"? Observe काण्डाहतरुप्यन् and काण्डाहतरुमयम्. Why do we say "a Prāgdīvyatiya affix"? Observe भागवित्तिकाय हितं = भागवित्तीयम्. (See the last Sūtra).

फक्फिओरन्यतरस्याम् ॥९१॥ पदानि ॥ फक्-फिओः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फक्फिओर्युवप्रत्ययोः प्राग्दीप्यतीयेऽच्चासौ प्रत्यये विवक्षितेऽन्यतरस्यां हुण् भवति ॥

91. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and क्तिम् when a Prāgdīvyatiya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added.

By the last sūtra, all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided. The present sūtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and क्तिम्. Thus the patronymic of गर्ग is गार्ग्य (IV. 1. 105); the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is formed by फक् (IV. 1. 101) गार्ग्यायणः. The word denoting the pupils of Gārgyaṇa will be गार्गीय or गार्ग्यायणीयाः; यास्कीयाः or यास्कायानीयाः. Similarly of the affix क्तिम् (IV. 1. 156). Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV. 1. 112). The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV. 1. 146). The pupils of Yāskāyani will be called यास्कीय or यास्कायनीयाः.

तस्यापत्यम् ॥९२॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-अपत्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्थनिर्देशाय, पूर्वैरुत्तराद्य प्रत्ययेऽभिसेवद्भावे । तस्येति पृथीसमर्थारपत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, प्रकृत्यो भवति प्रकृत्यर्थविशिष्टपृथगर्थोऽपत्यमात्रेणैव गृह्यते ॥

92. The affix अण् mentioned in IV. 1. 83 and those which follow it denote 'the descendant of some one'.

This sūtra points out the meaning of the affixes; and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV. 1. 83) e. g. अण्, प्य, अम् &c and to the affixes that follow. The affixes herein taught have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which

is in the genitive case. The translation given by Dr. Ballantyne of this aphorism is:—"Let the affixes already mentioned or to be mentioned come optionally in the sense of *the offspring thereof*, after what word ending with the sixth case-affix and having completed its junction (with whatever it may require to be compounded with), is in grammatical relation there to".

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्; or by adding मन् (IV. 1. 83) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th. case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगवः "the offspring of Upagu". आभ्यपतः (IV. 1. 84) 'the offspring of अभ्यपति', दैत्यः (IV. 1. 85) 'the offspring of Diti' औत्सः (IV. 1. 86) "the offspring of Utsa". स्त्रियः (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a woman'. पितृन् (IV. 1. 87) 'the offspring of a man'.

The Universal sūtra तस्येदम् (IV. 3. 120) will include this अपत्य also for the word इदम् may be applied to any-thing like अपत्यं, समूहः, विकारः, निवासः &c. Since by that rule IV. 3. 120 मन् &c, may be applied in the sense of *apatyam* also, what is the necessity of this present sūtra? The present sūtra is made in order to debar those affixes like छ, (IV. 3. 114) which debar the affix मन् &c in the case of तस्येदम् ॥ How can an अव्ययिक affix debar a दैविक affix? The उत्सर्ग affixes मन् &c are treated like दैविक for this purpose. Thus these affixes मन् (IV. 1. 83-87) debar the छ in the Viddham under certain circumstances. Thus मानोरपत्यं = मानवः, so also भ्यामपतः from भ्यामपुः (श्यामा गावोऽस्य) ॥

*Kūrīd* तस्येदमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।

उत्सर्गः शेष एवासी वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

एको गोत्रे ॥ ९३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं, तस्मिन् विवक्षितं भेदेन प्रत्यपत्यं प्रत्ययोल्लसिप्रसङ्गे निबन्धः क्रियते । गोत्रे एक एव भवति, सर्वेऽपत्येन युज्यन्ते ॥

93. The one and the same affix is employed when a more distant descendant, how low so-ever, is to be denoted.

The word Gotra is defined in Sūtra IV. 1. 152 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson. There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons; the present sūtra declares a restriction. Thus the son of गर्गः is गार्गि (IV. 1. 95). The son of गार्गिः (or in other words the grandson of गर्गः) is गार्ग्यः (IV. 1. 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix. Now the son of गार्ग्यः will also be called गार्ग्यः, no new affix will be added. In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever, the affix यम् will be added to the word गर्गः, though there may be several intermediate descendants. Thus the sūtra restricts the application of the affix. Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the

base to which the affix is to be added. Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix इम् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV. 1. 92 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes.

गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्, यूनि, अस्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयमपि नियमः दून्यपत्ये विवक्षिते गोत्रादेव प्रत्ययो भवति, न परमप्रकृत्यनन्तरदुवचः ॥

94. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV. 1. 163) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra): but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added.

This is also a *niyama* or restrictive rule. Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायणः (IV. 1. 101). Similarly वात्स्यायणः, शास्त्रायणः, ब्राह्मणः, औपगविः, नाडायनिः ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the feminine of दाक्षिः (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायणः (Yuvan). Similarly दाक्षी feminine of दाक्षिः and दाक्षायणः ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the feminine. If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also.

What is here prohibited i. e. is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence. Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra-name is debarred by Yuvan Name. Therefore the sūtra should be divided in two, e. g. गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ (1) After a Gotra-formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine. In fact the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known Gotra always and never by Yuvan.

अत इम् ॥ ९५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्यापत्यमित्येव । भक्तारान्ताध्यातिपदिकादिम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix इम् comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant.

This debarbs अण् (IV. 1. 83). Thus दक्षस्यापत्यं = दाक्षिः 'descendant of Daksha'. Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter न् added to अ, by I. 1. 69 and 70)? The descendant of शुभेयाः or कीलात्पाः (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इम् ॥

The descendant of इक्ष्व by this sūtra is इक्ष्वरिः, but the form इक्ष्वर्य formed by अण् is also met with. As “प्रसीयताम् इक्ष्वर्याय मेघिली” ‘Give Sita to the son of Dasaratha.’

बाह्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाहु-आदिभ्यः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बाहु इत्येवमादिभ्यः षष्ठेभ्योऽपत्ये इस् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च ॥

वा० ॥ बाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु येषां दर्शनं गोत्रभावे लौकिके ततोऽन्यत्र तेषां प्रतिषेधः ॥

वा० ॥ संबन्धिष्वङ्गानां च तत्सङ्गस्याप्यतिषेधः ॥

96. The affix इस् is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words ‘Bāhu’ &c.

Thus बाह्विः “a descendant of the clan of Bāhu.” The words ‘Bāhu’ &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable; or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इस्. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra.

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण).

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपशकु, 4 निशकु, 5 शिशकु, 6 वदाकु, 7 उपनिन्नु ( उपविन्नु ) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 लूडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मूषिका, 13 कुशला, 14 भगला ( छगला ) 15 ध्रुवका, 16 ध्रुवका, 17 सुमित्रा, 18 सुमित्रा, 19 पुष्करसङ्, 20 अनुहरन्, 21 देवस्यार्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 23 अग्निशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चमन्, 28 सप्तमन्, 29 अष्टमन्, 30 अमितीजसः सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावन्, 32 उदङ्मु, 33 शिरस्, 34 माघ, 35 श्यापिन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवद्विन्, 38 शङ्खलतोदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकारमर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीर्णर्त, 44 कृष्ण, 45 शुषिष्ठि, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद्, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्, 52 उदकः संज्ञायाम्, 53 संभूयोम्भसोः सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 लूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन । 57 सास्वकिः 58 जाड्विः 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मिः 60 आजधेनविः इत्यादि ॥

Vart:—The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name: otherwise the affix इस् will not be applied. Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाह्वः ॥

Vart:—The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word-forms when denoting Proper Names. Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning ‘father-in-law’ is श्वशुरी, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वशुरिः ॥

The च in the sūtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix. Thus आम्बिः, ऐन्द्रशर्मिः, आजधेनविः, आजधन्धविः, औदुम्नविः ॥

सुधातुरकश्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुधातुः अकङ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुधातृष्वङ्गापत्ये इस् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्नियोगेन च तत्साकङ्गादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषाङ्गङ्गालविम्बानामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

97. The affix इम् is placed after the word sudhâtri in denoting the descendant, and the ऋ of sudhâtri is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix.

Thus सुधातरपत्यम् = सौधातकिः 'the descendant of Sudhâtri.'

Vdt:—The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास, वरुह, निषाद, चण्डाल and इन्ध्र when the Patronymic इम् is to be added. Thus देवासकिः, वारुहकिः, निषादकिः, चण्डालकिः, इन्ध्रकिः ॥

गोत्रे कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रे, कुञ्जादिभ्यः, च् फञ् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रसंज्ञके ऽपत्ये वाच्ये कुञ्जादिभ्यश्च फञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix 'chphañ' comes after the words 'Kuñja' &c, when a remoter descendant (called Gotra) is to be denoted.

This debars इम् ॥ Of the affix च्फञ् the letter झ is for the sake of distinguishing this affix from the affix फञ्; such as in sūtra V. 3. 113, by which the words ending in affix झ्फञ् take the further affix च् (ञ्य), in order to form a complete word. The letter झ् of this affix causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117). Then remains फ् which by sūtra VII. 1. 2, is replaced by भायन् ॥ Thus कुञ्ज + च्फञ् = कौञ्ज + भायन् + अ = कौञ्जायन. This is not a complete word as yet. We must add य by sūtra V. 3. 113. Thus the full word is कौञ्जायन्यः 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Kuñja' dual of it is कौञ्जायन्यो; plural is कौञ्जायनाः; the affix ञ्य being elided by II. 5. 62, in the plural, it being an affix of the तद्भाज class (IV. 1. 174). Similarly ब्रौधायन्यः, ब्रौधायन्यो, ब्राधायनाः ॥

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जिः "the son of Kuñja". Here इम् is added by IV. 1. 95 in denoting immediate descendant. There is difference in the accent of these words, in the different numbers. Thus in the singular and dual, the accent will be regulated by the latter झ् of the affix ञ्य which is added in those numbers. But this affix being elided in the plural, the accent there will be regulated by the letter च् of च्फञ् ॥ That is to say, in the singular and dual, the udâtta will fall on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197); in the plural, it will fall on the last syllable (VI. 1. 164).

The word गोत्रे of this sūtra governs the succeeding sūtras up to aphorism IV. 1. 112: so that all the affixes taught in these fifteen sūtras denote grandsons or descendants lower than that.

1 कुञ्ज, 2 ब्रध, 3 चहृत्, 4 मस्मन् 5 गज, 6 लोमन्, 7 घट, 8 शाक, 9 शुण्डा, 10 शुभ, 11 विपाद्य, 12 स्कन्, 13 स्कन्ध, 14 शकट, 15 शुम्भा, 16 शिव, 17 शुभ-वि ॥



मडादिभ्यः फक् ॥ ९९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड and the rest.

Thus नाडायनः (नड + फक् = नाड + आयन VII. 2. 118 and VII. 1. 2). Similarly चाटायनः "the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara". But the son of नड will be नाडिः (IV. 1. 95).

The word चालंकु is changed to चालं before this affix. Thus चालंकावनः ॥ The word चालंकिः occurs in पैदादि class II. 4. 59, the Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus चालंकिः is a common name for 'father' and 'son'. It takes ह्रस्व by IV. 1. 96, as belonging to Bāhvādi class which is an Akṛti-gaṇa. The word अग्निधर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e. g. आग्निधर्मनः = वार्ष-गणः; otherwise the form will be आग्निधर्मः ॥ The word कुष्म will form काष्मनः when a Brāhmaṇa is meant; otherwise कार्ष्णिः, so also राजावनः = वासिष्ठः, otherwise राजिः ॥ The word क्रोष्टु is changed to क्रोष्ट as क्रोष्टावनः ॥

1 नड, 2 चर, (चर) 3 बक्, 4 भुञ्ज, 5 इतिक, 6 इतिष्ठ, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 ल-मक। 10 चालंकु चालं च। 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक। 14 अग्निधर्मन् वृषगणे। 15 प्राञ्च 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 शस, 19 मिच, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किकर, 24 कि-हून, 25 कातर, 26 कातल, 27 कादयप (कुदयप) 28 कादय, 29 कास्य (काप्य) 30 भञ्ज, 31 भमुष्य (भमुष्ण) 32 कुष्मरथो ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे। 33 भमिच, 34 लिशु, 35 चिच, 36 कुमार, 37 क्रोष्टु क्रोष्ट च। 38 लोह, 39 दुर्ग, 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिघ्रफा, 42 भम, 43 वृज, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस, 46 सुमत, 47 मिनस, 48 कृच, 49 जलधर, 50 मधर, 51 भुगंधर, 52 ईसक, 53 हण्डिन्, 54 इस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पंचाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्व, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बह्वर, 63 भञ्जल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्, 66 इन्ध, 67 भल, 68 काशुक, 69 ब्रह्मरक्ष, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोच, 72 भलोह, 73 हण्डप, 74 जन्, 75 भञ्जक, 76 वान-प्य, 77 नाप्य, 78 भन्वजत, 79 भन्तजन, 80 इत्यप, 81 भंशक, 82 यान, 83 कान, 84 वात ॥

हरितादिभ्योऽञ्जः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ हरित-आदिभ्यः, अञ्जः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरितादिर्विशद्यन्तर्गणः। हरितादिभ्यो ऽञ्जन्तेभ्योपत्ये फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix फक् comes after the words हरित &c, when they end in the affix अञ्ज (IV. 1. 104).

The words हरित &c, form a subdivision of विद् class, which class by IV. 1. 104 takes the affix अञ्ज in forming Gotra words. Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्ज). The son of हारित will be formed by this sūtra and not by IV. 1. 95. Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायनः "the son of Hārita or the great-grandson of Hārita". In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sūtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes; because according to the general rule IV. 1. 98 one Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix

अस्य will not take again another Gotra affix कक् ॥ Therefore, कक् is here a Yuvan-affix.

यजिञोश्च ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्-इञोः, च, (कक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजन्तादिमन्ताश्च प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. The affix कक् is added in denoting a descendant after a Nominal-stem ending in the affixes यज् and इज् ॥

The कक् of this sūtra has, like that of the preceding sūtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यज् and इज् ॥ Thus गर्ग + यज् (IV. 1. 105) = गार्ग्यः ॥ गार्ग्य + कक् = गार्ग्ययवः ॥ इक्ष + इज् = इक्षिः ; इक्षि + कक् = इक्षायवः ॥ It is not every word which ends in यज् or इज् which takes the Yuvan affix कक् ; but only that word where the affix यज् or इज् has the force of a Gotra affix. Thus the affix यज् is added by IV. 3. 10 to denote proximity to a sea. As द्वीप + यज् = द्वीप्यः ॥ This word will not take the affix कक् ॥ Similarly by IV. 2. 80 the affix इज् is added to the words सुतंगम &c, the force of the affix being चानुर्यिक ॥ Thus सौतंगमिः. This word will not take the affix कक् ॥

शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्साप्रायणेषु ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरद्वत्, शुनक, दर्भा-  
त्, भृगु, वत्स, आप्रायणेषु (कक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । शरद्वत् शुनक दर्भ इत्येतेभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये कक् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं भृगुवत्साप्रा-  
यणेष्वप्येवमपत्यविधेयेषु ॥

102. The affix कक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant after the words 'saradvat', 'sunaka', and 'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Agrâyana respectively.

Thus शरद्वत्तायनः = भार्गवः otherwise शरद्वत्तः (formed by अज्) शौनकायनः  
= वात्स्यः ; otherwise शौनकः, दर्भायनः = आप्रायणः, otherwise दर्भिः, (formed by इज् IV.  
1. 95).

The words शरद्वत् and शुनक belonging to विशादि class would by IV. 1. 104 have taken the affix अज् in denoting Gotra, the present sūtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins कक् instead.

द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोण, पर्वत, जीवन्तात्, अ-  
न्यतरस्याम् ( कक् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इत्येव । द्रोणादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो गोत्रापत्यदन्यतरस्यां कक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix कक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'parvata,' and 'jivanta.'

This debars इङ् of IV. 1. 95. Thus द्रोणावनः or द्रोणिः, पार्षतावनः or पार्षतिः, अश्वत्थानवनः or अश्वत्थिः ॥

The affix कञ् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son. How is then अश्वत्थाना the son of Droṇa, called द्रोणावनः and not द्रोणिः in the phrase “अश्वत्थाना द्रोणावनः”? The द्रोण here does not refer to the Droṇa of the Mahabhārāt, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descendants were called द्रोणावनाः ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthāmā was called Drauṇāyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

अनृष्यानन्तर्ये विदादिभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुषि-आनन्तर्ये, विदादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रस्येव । विदादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्येऽप्रत्ययो भवति । वे पुनरनुषिपञ्चः पुत्रापत्येऽनन्तर्ये एव भवति । अनृष्यानन्तर्यस्यस्यावनर्यः, अनृषिभ्योऽनन्तरे भवतीति ॥

104. The affix अञ् comes after the words ‘Bida’ &c, in denoting a remote (Gotra) descendant: but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting immediate descendant.

This Sūtra consists of four words: अनुषि “non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage”; आनन्तर्ये “in expressing an *immediate* descendant.” विदादिभ्यः “after Bidādi words” अञ् “the affix अञ्.” Thus of the words falling in Bidādi class, the words like पुत्र ‘son,’ कुटुम्बिणी ‘daughter,’ ननान् ‘sister-in-law’ are common nouns and not names of Rishis. When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting immediate descendant. Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पोत्रः ‘grand-son.’ कुटुम्बिणी + अञ् = कौटुम्बिणी “daughter’s son.” But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants. Thus विद + अञ् = वैदः ‘the grandson or a descendant lower than that of Bida.’

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes, we come to this two fold meaning of this sūtra? To this we reply, that the phrase अनृष्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed. The word ‘anṛṣhi’ is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided. The word आनन्तर्ये is the same as अनन्तर, the affix एव being added without change of significance. Therefore the words like पोत्र &c. denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendant of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general. Therefore, the above phrase means:—‘after a Bidādi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix ‘an’ is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant.’

Q. Another way of explaining the phrase is this, the word 'Anantarya' is equal to 'nairantarya' = 'uninterrupted succession.' Therefore, where there is an uninterrupted succession of Rishis between the first name and the person to be designated by a Patronymic, there the affix 'añ' will not be added. Thus the word कश्यप belongs to the Bidādi class. 'Indrabhū' a seventh descendant of Kaśyapa, will not be denoted by काश्यप formed with अभ्यु, because between इन्द्रभू and कश्यप, there is an unbroken series of Rishis, but by अभ्यु of IV. 1. 114. Therefore the following phrase will be valid इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ For अभ्यु is elided in the plural by II. 4. 64, but काश्यपानाम् is plural of काश्यप formed with the general patronymic अभ्यु of IV. 1. 114 and hence not elided.

A. This explanation is not to be preferred, merely in order to explain the word काश्यपानाम् in इन्द्रभूः सप्तमः काश्यपानाम् ॥ The general Patronymic ऋषि affix अभ्यु of IV. 1, 114 is not debarred by this अभ्यु ॥ Therefore काश्यप with अभ्यु will denote इन्द्रभूः, which may also be denoted by काश्यप formed with अभ्यु ॥ For had the above explanation been correct, then विश्वामित्र the grandson of Kusika could never be called कौशिकः (formed with अभ्यु), for both Gādhi the father of Viśva-mitra, and Kuśika the grand-father were Rishis.

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words विर &c, will take other appropriate affixes. Thus विर forms वैरि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV. 1. '96 इत् and not by ऋष्यप् of IV. 1. 114, because विर is supposed to belong to the Akṛtigaṇa of Bāhvādī.

1 विर, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक, 5 भरद्वाज, 6 उपमन्तु, 7 किलात, 8 कन्वर्ष (किर्ष) 9 विश्वामित्र, 10 ऋषिपेण (ऋषिणेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्यश्च, 13 मियक, 14 भा-पस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरदन्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिशु, 21 विनु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शनिक, 25 अश्वामतान, 26 द्यामाक, 27 दयानक, 28 द्यावलि, 29 द्यापर्ण, 30 हरित, 31 किरास, 32 बह्यस्त, 33 भर्कशूष (भर्कलूक) 34 बभ्यो-ग, 35 विष्णु, 36 इन्द्र, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रयीतर (रयन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषार, 42 शबर, 43 भलस, 44 मरु, 45 वृडाकु, 46 हृपाकु, 47 वृहु, 48 पुनर्ध, 49 पूष, 50 रुहिवृ, 51 ननान्, 52 परस्त्री परशु च । 53 किन्त्यलप, 54 सम्बक्, 55 द्यायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अभ्यु ॥ Thus परस्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशुवः (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Śūdra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race).

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशक्तिकारि (VII. 3. 20) and कल्याण्यादि (IV. 1. 126) classes also. Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रेयः, with double वृद्धि of both members by VII. 3. 20: which does not take place in the case of पारशुवः ॥

गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् ॥ १०५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रहृत्येव । गर्गादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये बह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c.

Thus गार्ग्यः, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also बाल्यः &c.

1 गर्ग, 2 वत्स, 3 वाजसे, 4 संस्क्रुति, 5 भञ्ज, 6 व्याघ्रपान्, 7 विरभृन्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 भगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस्, 12 रेभ, 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शंख, 15 छद, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 भवद, 20 मनस्, 21 धनेज्जब, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 अरमाज, 25 लोहित, 26 संसित, 27 बभ्रं, 28 वल्गु, 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शंखु, 32 तिगु, 33 गुहलु, 34 मन्तु, 35 मंशु, 36 भलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु, 40 मनादी, 41 सुनु, 42 कपक, 43 कण्यक, 44 क्षक्ष, 45 वृक्ष ( वृक्ष ) 46 तनु, 47 तरक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49 तण्ड, 50 बतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत, 53 कष, 54 भूत, 55 कुक्षकत, 56 अननुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुष्कस्त, 59 शक्ति, 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 भगस्त्य, 64 कुण्डिनी 65 यक्षवल्क, 66 पर्णवल्क, 67 भभयजात, 68 शिरोहित, 69 वृषगज, 70 रङ्गज, 71 शण्डिन, 72 वर्जङ्ग ( चणङ्ग ) 73 पुलुक, 77 मुहल, 75 मुसल, 76 जमरश्मि, 77 पपशर, 78 अतृकर्ण ( आतृकर्ण ) 79 महित, 80 मन्वित, 81 अमरय, 82 शर्कराक्ष, 83 पुतिशप, 84 स्थूष, 85 अक्षरक ( भररक ) 86 एलाक, 87 विन्नल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गालन्, 90 उलूक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज ( भिषज् ) 93 भिषज, 94 भदित, 95 भाण्डत, 96 दम्भ, 97 वेकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवह, 100 इन्द्रह, 101 एकल, 102 पिप्पल, 103 वृहश्मि, 104 सुलेहिन्, 105 सुलाभिन्, 106 उक्थ, 107 कुटिगु, 108 संहित, 109 पय, 110 कन्धु, 111 शुष, 112 कर्कटक, 113 रक्ष, 114 प्रचूल, 115 विलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

The word मधु is found in the लैहतादि sublist of this class. It ought to take ण् after बह् in the feminine by IV. 1. 18, how then the form मानवी in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix बह् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also. If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमरश्मि is called जानरश्मन् which is a Name of Parasúram the son of Jamadagni, or why Vyása the son of Parásara is called पापशर्यः ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्र रूपाध्यायेः i. e. by superimposing of Gotra-form on these. Their proper apatyā forms are by कण्यञ् (IV. 1. 114) i. e. जानरश्मः and पापशरः ॥

मधुवज्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयोः ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधु, वज्रोः, ब्राह्मण-कौशिकयोः ( यञ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुवज्राद्वभु ब्राह्मण गोत्रापत्ये बह् प्रत्ययो भवति यथासंख्यं ब्राह्मण कौशिके वाच्ये ॥

106. The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and वज्रु when the words so formed mean 'Brāhmaṇa' and 'a Kausika' respectively.

Thus माधव्यः = ब्राह्मणः 'Brāhmaṇa.' Otherwise माधवः "son of Madhu." वाधव्यः = कौशिकः Otherwise वाधवः ॥

The word वम् belongs to the Gargādi class, so it would have taken यन् by the last sūtra also. The present sūtra declares a restriction, viz. वम् takes यम् only then when कौशिक is denoted. Its being read in the Gargādi class serves another purpose: as it belongs to the sub-classes लोहितारि, the rule IV. 1. 18 becomes applicable to it; so that its feminine is formed by ष्क. Thus माधव्यायनी ॥ In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Gaṇapātha, instead of writing वम् alone, there was वम् कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sūtra.

कपिवोधादाङ्गिरसे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कपि, बोधात्, आङ्गिरसे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कपिवोधशब्दाभ्यामाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे वम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + वम् = काप्यः 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras.' So also बोधः ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कापेयः (IV. 1. 122) "the gotra-descendant of Kapi" so also बोधिः formed by इम् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bāhvādi (IV. 1. 96) class.

The word कपि occurs in Gargādi class. The present sūtra declares a restriction i. e. the 'यान्' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant. It is included in the Gargādī class also for the purpose of applying IV. 1. 18. Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi."

वतण्डाच्च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वतण्डात्, च, ( गोत्रे, यञ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दादाङ्गिरसेऽपत्यविशेषे गोत्रे यम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

108. The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant of Angirasa.

Thus वातण्ड्यः = आंगीरसः, otherwise वातण्डः ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargādi class (IV. 1. 105) and in the Sivādi class (IV. 1. 112). It would have taken both affixes भम् and यञ्. The present sūtra declares that when it means an Angirasa, then वतण्ड will not take भम् of the णिवारि class: and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both these affixes e. g. वातण्ड्यः and वातण्डः any descendant of Vātaṇḍa.

लुक् क्रियाम् ॥ १०९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वतण्डशब्दादाङ्गिरस्यां क्रियां यञ् प्रत्ययस्य लुग्भवति ॥

109. The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa.

Thus from वतण्डः we get वतण्ड्य in the masculine. In the feminine the यम् is elided by luk, and we have वतण्ड्य + डीन् (IV. 1. 73) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vataṇḍa of the clan Aṅgīrasa." Why do we say "of Aṅgīrasa?" Observe वतण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitaḍi rule (V. 1. 18). When वतण्ड takes यञ् under Sīvādi class, its feminine is वतण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with यञ् yet in the feminine, there is not ष्वङ् substitution (IV. 1. 78), because Vataṇḍa is a Rishi-Name.

अभ्यादिभ्यः फञ् ॥ १० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्त्रिंश इति निवृत्तम् । अभ्यादिभ्यो गोत्रापत्ये कम् मत्वयो भवति ॥

110. The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c.

The anuvṛtṭi of Aṅgīrasa does not extend to this aphorism. Thus अश्व-कम् = अश्व-आयन (VII. 1. 2) = आश्वायनः (VII. 2. 117) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Aśva'. Similarly आश्वायनः There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e. g. आश्वेय, वैश्व, and आनङ्ग ॥ After these words the affix कम् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix. The word आश्वेय is formed by अशि + डक् (IV. 1. 122), वैश्व = विति (a Rajarshi)-+ ष्वङ् (IV. 1. 171), and आनङ्ग = अनङ्ग + यञ् (IV. 1. 105). The word चक्ष takes फाञ् only when it denotes an Atreya, as छायायनः, otherwise छाक्षिः with इञ् or छाक्षः with यञ् ॥ The word जात takes 'फाञ्' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted, as जातस्यापत्यं = जातायनः but जाताया अपत्यं = जातेयः with डक् ॥ The word आश्वेय takes 'फाञ्' when denoting a Bhāradvāja, as आश्वेयायनः, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II. 4. 28, leaving the form आश्वेयः ॥

The words भारद्वाज आश्वेये of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhāradvāja Gotra, then the affix is to be added, he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhāradvāja. Thus भारद्वाजायनः, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाजः with अञ् of IV. 1. 104.

I अश्व 2 अश्वन् 3 श्वल 4 श्वङ्क 5 विर 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 सार्जूर (सजूर) 9 सण्जार 10 वस्त 11 विज्ञत 12 भडिल 13 भण्डिल 14 भडित 15 भण्डित 16 प्रकृत 17 यनोर 18 भान्त 19 काक्ष 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलोक 22 भर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 अविष्ट 27 पविन् 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 दयान 31 धूम 32 धूम 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 घप आश्वेये 37 जन 38 अड 39 खड 40 दीप्य 41 भर्ह 42 कित 43 विघां 44 विद्याल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 शासक 49 वैश्व 50 (वैश्व) 51 प्राण्य 52 धर्म्य 53 आनङ्ग 54 पुंशि जाते 55 अर्जुन 56 प्रहृत 57 सुमनस् 58 रुर्मनसं 59 नन 59.

(मन्स्) भान्त 60 भान 61 भावेव भरहावे 62 भरहाज भावेवे 63 उत्स 64 भातव 65 कितव 66 वर  
67 धन्व 68 पाव 69 शिव 70 खरि 71 भण्डक 72 श्रीवा 73 कुल 74 काज 75 नड 76  
वीर्य, 77 वर, 78 खेड, 79 नल 80 मोजस, 81 नन ॥

भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भर्गव्यासपत्ये विद्येये वैगर्ते गोत्रे कश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'कश्च' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta.

Thus भर्गाव्ययः = वैगर्तः ; otherwise भार्गिः (IV. 1. 95).

शिवादिभ्योण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव-मादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्र इति निवृण्व । अतः प्रभृति सामान्येन प्रत्यया विज्ञावन्ते । शिवादिभ्योऽपत्येऽण् प्रत्य-  
यो भवति ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descen-  
dant, after the words शिव &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word गोत्रे (IV. 1. 98) does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes. The affix अण् debarbs इम् &c, Thus शिव-अण् = शैवः 'a descendant of Śiva'. Similarly ग्रीहः ॥

The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class; being a common noun denoting an artisan. it would have taken the affix इम् by IV. 1, 153; the present sūtra prevents that. It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV. 1. 152. Thus तक्षन्-अण् = तक्षणः ॥ तक्षन्-ण्य = तक्षण्यः ॥ The अ is elided by VI. 4. 134. The word गंगा occurs in this class, as well as in Subhrādi class IV, 1. 123) and Tikādi (IV. 1. 154). There are thus three forms of this word :—गाङ्गः ; गाङ्गायनिः and गाङ्गेयः ॥ The word विपाद्या occurs in this class as well as in Kuñjādi class (IV. 1. 98) It has thus two forms : विपाद्याः and विपाद्यायन्यः with chphafi.

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river: the affix इक् (IV. 1. 121) would have debarred the तन्नामिक अण् of (IV. 1. 113) in case of patronymics formed from river names. However, it is not so, because of this prohibition. The Patronymic from the river name विदेणी would be formed by अण् (IV. 1. 113), as वैदेणः ; but this is replaced by विवणः ॥

1 शिव 2 श्रोष्ठ 3 श्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 रुण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुम् (ककुभा) 10 अन्-  
मिलान 11 कौहित 12 सुख 13 संधि 14 मुनि 15 ककुत्थ 16 कहोड 17 कोहड 18 कह्य 19 कहब  
20 रोध 21 कर्पिजल (कुपिजल) 22 खंजन 23 वतण्ड 24 रुणकर्म 25 खरिह्र 26 अलह्र 27 परिल



28 पादिक 29 पिह 30 हेह 31 पार्षिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 अटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मञ्जीरक 37 38 मञ्जरक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खञ्जार 41 खञ्जात 42 कर्मार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 मानेखन 46 विम्बवण 47 रवण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 श्रीवाक्ष 50 विदप 51 विदक 52 विदाक 53 तक्षाक 54 मयाक 55 कर्णनाभ 56 अरत्काह 57 पृथा 58 डत्सेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुपुहितिका 61 सुपुहिका 62 आर्ध-  
भेत (अर्धभेत) 63 सुविह 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जूरकर्ण 67 खपूरक 68 तक्षन् 69 कटिषये 70 गंगा 71 विषाद्य 72 बत्क 73 लह्य 74 हुह्य 75 अयःस्थुत 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 वर्ष 78 मल-  
न्वन 73 विरुपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 ह्य 82 सपत्नी 83 ब्राह्मो मयाः 84 विवेणी विवणं च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक, 87 कदोष, 88 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 बडाक, 92 परत ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्यः ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दितस्याच्चाभिरिस्त्. इ. दम् । अवृद्धाभ्यः इति शब्दधर्मः । नदीमानुषीभ्य इत्यर्थधर्म, स्तेनाभिर-  
प्यकृतयो निर्विद्यन्ते । तन्नामिकाभ्य इति सर्वनाम्ना प्रत्यक्षप्रकृतेः प्रत्यक्षवर्गः । अवृद्धानि यानि नदीनां  
मानुषीणां च नामधेयानि तेषां उपत्येऽण् प्रत्यये भवति । इको उपधाकः ॥

113. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a des-  
cendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women,  
when such words are not Vriddham words; and when they  
are used as names and not as adjectives.

The word Vriddham in the sūtra, does not mean the technical Pat-  
ronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sūtras like  
IV. 1. 166, but means the Vriddham as defined in this Grammar i. e. a word  
whose first syllable is a Vriddhi letter (I. 1. 73). The word अवृद्धाभ्यः shows the  
*orthography* of the word to which the affix is to be added. The word नदी-  
मानुषीभ्यः declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one  
and the same base, i. e. orthographically the base should have a Vriddhi letter  
in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river.  
The word तन्नामिकाभ्यः applies both to the base and the affix.

Thus यमुना—यामुनः 'a son of the Yamunā.' ऐरावत 'son of the Irāvati.'  
वैतस्तः 'son of the Vitastā.' नर्मदः 'son of the Narmaddā.' These are all *names*  
of rivers. Similarly शिक्षितः 'son of Śikṣhitā' चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तित' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vriddha word? Observe चान्नभाक्कञ्च  
अपत्यं = चान्नभागेयः ; so also वासवदत्तेयः formed by इक् (IV. 1. 120). Why do we say  
being 'names of *rivers* or *women*.' Observe सौपर्णेयः and वैनतेयः ॥ Why do we  
say "when it is a *name*?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्यं = शोभनेयः 'the son of a beautiful  
woman.'

इक् (IV. 1. 120) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed  
from feminine bases. The present sūtra is an exception to that.

अण्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ ११४ ॥ अण्वि, अन्धक, वृष्णि, कुरुभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषयः प्रसिद्धा वसिष्ठादयः । अन्धका वृष्णवः कुरु इति वंशाख्या । ऋष्यादिकुर्वन्तेभ्यः प्राति-  
परिकेभ्यो उपत्येऽणप्रत्ययः भवती, प्रोऽपधाकः ।

114. The affix मण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem denoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Andhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru.

This debarb the affix इम् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishṭha, Viśvamiṭra &c. Thus वासिष्ठः, वैश्वामित्रः ॥ So also आहवन्तः, एतद्वन्तः being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka ; and वासुदेवः, आनुवृद्धः being persons belonging to the family of Vṛishṇi, and नकुलः, साहदेवः being persons belonging to the family of Kuru.

The word आनि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sūtra enjoins मण् ; but IV. 1. 122 enjoins इक् ; thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I. 4. 2. So that the Patronymic of आनि will be formed not by मण् but by इक् ॥ Thus आनिवः ॥ Similarly उग्रसेनः a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औग्रसेन्यः IV. 1. 152 by ण्य ; and not by मण्, so also वैश्वकसेन्यः 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vṛishṇi, family ; so also भिमसेन्यः 'son of Bhimasena' a person of Kuru family.

*Note.*—The words or sabdās are eternal ; how is it then that rules applying to them should be made dependant upon their occurring in particular families or not, when families themselves are non-eternal ? In other word, how a rule affecting a permanent object is conditioned by an impermanent adjunct ? To this, some reply that Pāṇini has by mere coincidence (and not as cause and effect) classified certain definite number of words as belonging to certain families, and then the rule made applicable to them. Moreover a permanent object is sometimes designated by an impermanent object : as the permanent time is designated by the name of Saka. Others say that the families of Andhaka &c., are also permanent, and the words 'Nakula' 'Sahadeva' &c., found therein are, of course, permanent.

मातृकुलसंख्यासंमद्रपूर्वायाः ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातुः, उत्तः, संख्या, सम्, मद्र, पूर्वायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मातृकुलसंख्यापूर्वात्संमद्रपूर्वायापत्ये ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति, उकारान्तरेशः ।

115. The affix मण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mātṛi when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or मद्र ; and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mātṛi.

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्विमातुः "son of two mothers i. e. son of one and adopted by another." द्विमातृ + मण् = द्विमातृ + उ + म = द्विमातृ + उ + ए + म (I. 1. 51.) Similarly पाण्मातुः, सांमातुः, and आहमातुः ॥

This sūtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the

इ of मातृ; for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण् by the general rule IV. 1. 83. The sūtra contains the word पूर्वायाः in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes female. Thus संनिशेते = संमातृ 'he who measures together'. Its patronymic will be संमात्रः 'son of a fellow-measurer'; because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'. Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule. Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c." Observe सोमात्रः 'son of Sumātri'. The word देमात्रेवः is formed by IV. 1. 123 as belonging to Śubhrādi class.

कन्यायाः कनीन च ॥ ११६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याशब्दादपत्येऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति इकोपवाहः । तत्सन्निधौगेन कनीनशब्दमादेशो भवति ॥

116. The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'Kanyâ'.

Thus कन्याया अपत्यं = कनीनः 'the son of a virgin' viz Karna or Vyasa'. This debars the इक् of IV. 1. 121. The word कन्या means a virgin, the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception. शुनिदेवतामाहात्म्यायां पुत्र्योनेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यया कुन्ती, यया सत्यवती ॥

विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, छगलात्, वत्स, भरद्वाज, अत्रिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकर्णशुङ्गछगलशब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिष्वपत्यविशेषेण्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvāja and Atri respectively.

Thus विकर्णः = वात्सः otherwise वैकर्णिः ॥ शौद्रः = भारद्वाजः, otherwise शौद्रिः ॥ छागकः = आत्रेयः, otherwise छागकिः ॥

In some texts the word शुंग is used and not शुङ्ग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौद्रेयः, by IV. 1. 120 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाजः ॥

पीलाया वा ॥ ११८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पीलाया अपत्ये वाण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

118. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant.

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by

IV. 1. 113; but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV. 1. 121 as it is a dissyllabic feminine word. Hence the necessity of the present sūtra. Thus पिलः or पिलेकः 'son of Pila.'

ढक् च मण्डूकाल् ॥ ११९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मण्डूकशब्दादपत्ये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix ढक् comes optionally in the sense of a descendant after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डुक + ङक् = मांडूकेयः; मंडूक + अण् = माण्डूकः; मण्डूक + इम् = माण्डुकिः ॥

स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् ॥ १२० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वडवाया वृषे वाच्ये ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अण् कुञ्चाकौकिलात्सुतः ॥

120. Words ending in the feminine affixes take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic.

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes दाप् &c.' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine. Thus विनता + ङक् = वैनतेयः (IV. 1. 2). So also सौपर्णेयः "Son of Vinatā or Suparṇā". But ऐदविडः and शरदः formed by अण् meaning sons of इदविड and शरद, for though these words are feminine, they do not *end in feminine affixes*.

Vart.:—The affix ङक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष ॥ Thus वाडवेयः = वृषः "bull." Here 'ḍhak' has not the patronymic force. The patronymic will be वाडवः 'the son of a mare.'

Vart.:—The feminine words कुञ्चा and कौकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic. Thus क्रौञ्चः "the son of a curlew." कौकिलाः "the son of a cuckoo."

द्वयचः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वि-अचः (स्त्रीभ्यां ढक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels.

Thus दत्ताया अपत्यं = दातेयः 'son of Dattā', गौपेयः "son of Gopī". This debars the अण् of IV. 1. 113.

Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe यामुनः 'son of यमुना', which is a trisyllabic word, and not dissyllabic.

इतश्चानिजः ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, अन्, इजः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चकारो द्वय इत्यस्यानुकर्षणार्थः । इकारान्ताद्यानिपदिकारिप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix 'इङ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इम् ॥

The anuvṛtti of 'stri' does not extend to this aphorism. The force of the word च in the sūtra is to draw the anuvṛtti of the word इङ् of the last sūtra. Thus आत्रेयः 'the son of Atri'. त्रिपेयः 'the son of त्रिषिः' ।

Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe शक्तिः "son of शक्त" ॥ Here शक्त though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इम्'? Observe शाक्यायनः 'son of शक्ति' ॥ Here though शक्ति is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix इङ् for इ here is the affix इम् (IV. 1. 95.); so also व्यासायनः ॥ Why do we say 'having two vowels'? Observe मारीचः "son of मरीचिः"

शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुभ्र-आदिभ्यः, च (इङ्)

श्रुतिः ॥ शुभ्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

123. The affix 'इङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c.

This debars इम् and other affixes. The word च in the sūtra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the इङ्, as it is an आकृत्यतिगणः ॥ For though the words गंगा, पाण्डव are not in the list, we find still forms like गांगेयः, पाण्डवेयः &c.

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्यं = सोभेयः ॥

1 शुभ्र, 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकुल, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शालायल, (शालायल) 6 शालाकाश्रु, 7 लेखाश्रु, (लेखाश्रु), 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मिणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिक्षु, 13 शालूक, 14 भजवस्ति, 15 शर्काधि, 16 विमान्, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक, 19 विश, 20 वेदतर 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक, 23 उम, 24 ज्ञातल (ज्ञातल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सूकण्डु, 27 त्रिषि, 28 अन्तिथि, 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकण्डु, 32 शातावर, 33 पद्मपुरिक, 34 सुनामन्, 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वारिष्ठ । 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अनीब, 39 प्रवाहन, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम; 42 सूकण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीड, 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदभ, 49 सुवसन्, 50 सुशामन्, 51 कटु, 52 तुद, 53 अकशाय, 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुमारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्वाशान्, 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदन्त; 61 शकल, 62 शालाका, 63 खड्ग, 64 कुशेरिका, 65 भगोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मगा, 68 अनुदन्तिन्, (अनुदन्ति) 69 जरातिन्, 70 गलीर्वारिन्, 71 विम, 72 बीज, 73 जीव, 74 भन्, 75 भदमन्, 76 अभ, 77 भजिर 78 शातावर, 79 शालाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मण्डु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकथु, 86 वमडु, 87 कटु, 88 सूकण्ड, 89 गुद, 90 रुद, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शकल, 93 भजिन ॥

विकर्णकुपीतकात्काश्यपे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विकर्ण, कुपीतकात् काश्यपे ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ विकर्णशब्दस्तुपीतकशब्दाच्च काश्यपे ऽपत्यविशेषे इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

124. The affix ढक् comes after the words 'Vi-karna' and 'Kushita', when they mean the descendants of Kāsyapa.

Thus वैकर्णेयः and कौशतिकेयः = काश्यपः; otherwise we have वैकर्णिः and कौशतिकः formed by IV. 1. 95.

सुवो बुक् च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवः, बुक्, च (ढक्)  
वृत्तिः ॥ सुवस्यापत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च बुगागमः ।

125. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word सू and the augment बुक् is added when this affix is to be applied.

Thus सू + ढक् = सू + बुक् + ढक् (I. 1. 46) = सूवः + ढक् = सूवेयः (VII. 1. 2)  
कल्याण्यादीनामिन्ङ् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कल्याणी-आदीनाम्, इन्ङ् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ कल्याणी इत्येवमासीनां शब्दानामपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च इन्ङादेशः ॥

126. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words कल्याणी &c. and the substitute इन्ङ् takes the place of the final of these words before this affix.

In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sūtra teaches merely the substitution of इन्ङ्, for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 120. But in the case of other words, the Sūtra teaches both the substitution of इन्ङ् and the addition of ढक् ।

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = कल्याणिन्यः 'son of Kalyāṇī.' सुभगा + ढक् = सुभागिन् + ढक् = सुभागिन्यः ॥ Similarly वैभगिन्यः ॥ In these last two words, there is Vṛiddhi of both the initial vowel वृ and the second vowel अ of न. This is done by the special rule VII. 3. 19.

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुद्रष्टि, 6 अनुमृति (अनुमृष्टि) 7 जरती, 8 बलीवर्षी, 9 ज्येष्ठा, 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्या, 12 परस्त्री ॥

कुलदाया वा ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलदायाः, वा (ढक्)  
वृत्तिः ॥ कुलदाया अपत्येढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च वा इन्ङादेशो भवति । आदेशार्थे वचनं प्रत्ययः पूर्वेष्वेव सिद्धः ।

127. The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलदा, and इन्ङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix.

The word कुलदा means literally one who wanders (भ्रमति) from one family (कुल) to another, i. e. an unchaste woman. This sūtra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलदा would have taken ढक् by the general rule IV. 1. 120. Thus कुलदा + ढक् = कुलदिन् + ढक् = कौलदिन्यः or कौलदेयः 'son of an unchaste woman.' This word कुलदा being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix ढक् by IV. 1. 131. Thus कौलदेयः ॥

चटकाया ऐरक् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चटकायाः, ऐरक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चटकाया अपत्ये ऐरक् प्रत्ययो भवति । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चटकावेति वक्तव्यम् । वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चि-  
दापत्ये लुक्वक्तव्यः ॥

128. The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in forming the patronymic.

Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

*Vart*:—So also after the masculine word चटक् ॥ Thus चाटकैः 'son of Chaṭaka'.

*Vart*:—In forming a descendant denoting a female, there is luk-elision of the affix. Thus the female descendant of चटका will be चटका, the ट् being added as belonging to Ajādi class IV. 1. 4.

गोधाया द्रक् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोधायाः, द्रक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये द्रक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'द्रक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + द्रक् = गोधैः ॥ Of the affix 'ḍhrak', the letter ह् is replaced by एह् (VII. 1. 2), क् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) and makes the udātta accent fall on the final (IV. 1. 165). Thus the real affix is एह्र्, but the ह् is elided by VI. 1. 66 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Subhrādi class IV. 1. 123, also, thus it takes the affix 'ḍhak' as well. Thus गोधैः ॥

आरगुदीचाम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ आरक्, उदीचाम् (गोधायाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोधाया अपत्ये उदीचामाचार्याणां मतेन आरक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

130. The affix 'आरक्', comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'गोधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians.

Thus गोधाः ॥ It might be objected that the आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily, for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already. The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pāṇini uses this affix आरक्, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix, and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice. Thus the words अह and एह also take this affix, as आहारः, पाण्डारः ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only.

शुद्राभ्यो वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुद्राभ्यः, वा (द्रक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुद्रा भङ्गहीना धर्महीनाश्च । अर्धधर्मेण तदभिधायन्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गाः प्रकृतयो निर्दिश्यन्ते । शुद्राभ्यो वापत्ये इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix 'इक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting mean objects.

The anuvṛitti of इक् is to be read in this sūtra, and not of भारक्, though the latter immediately precedes it. The word शुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles. This sūtra debars इक् which would come in the other alternative. Thus काणेरः 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेशः, शसेरः or शसेशः 'son of a female-slave'.

पितृष्वसुदछण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृष्वसुः, छण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुदछण्प्रत्यये ङण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसु'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसु + छण् = पितृष्वसुदछणः 'the son of the father's sister'. The छ of the affix is replaced by ईव ॥

ढकि लोपः ॥ १३६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुदछण्प्रत्यये ढकि परतो लोप भवति ॥

133. The final vowel of 'पितृ-ष्वसु' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added.

Thus पितृष्वसु + ढक् = पितृष्वसुदः ॥ This sūtra indicates by jñāpaka that the word पितृष्वसु takes the affix 'ḍhak' also.

मातृष्वसुश्च ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मातृष्वसुः, च (छण्, ढकि लोपः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृष्वसुरित्येतद्वेक्षते, पितृष्वसुर्यदुक्तं तन्मातृष्वसुषि भवति । छण्प्रत्ययो ढकि लोपश्च ॥

134. So also, after the word 'मातृष्वसु' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics.

The Sūtras IV. 1. 132, 133 above apply to मातृष्वसु also. As मातृष्वसुदछणः or मातृष्वसुदः 'the son of a mother's sister'.

चतुष्पादो ढञ् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चतुष्-पादभ्यः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चतुष्पादभिधायिनीभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्योऽपत्ये ढञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds.

This debars अण् &c. Thus कम्पडलु + ढञ् = कम्पडलेयः (IV. 4. 147, the ड being elided before ढ). So also घृतिबोहयेः and जाम्बयः from घृतिबाहु and अम्बु ॥



गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गृष्टि-आदिभ्यः, च (ढञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गृष्ट्यादिभ्यः षष्ठेऽधोपत्ये ङम्प्रत्ययो भवति ।

136. The affix 'ढञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'गृष्टि' &c.

This debars अण् and इक् &c. Thus गार्द्वेयः; हार्द्वेयः ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ङम् by the last Sûtra. The present sûtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'.

1 गृष्टि, 2 इष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 इति, 5 विधि, 6 कुत्रि, 7 मञ्जवस्ति, 8 निषडु ।

राजश्वशुराद्यत् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ राज-श्वशुरात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः राजन्-श्वशुराद्याभ्यामपत्ये दत्यत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant, after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर'.

This debars अण् and मञ् respectively. Thus राजन्वः (IV. 4. 168) 'a person of Kshatriya class'. This is the special meaning of the word; it does not mean 'the son of a Rāja.' The word राजन् will mean 'the son of a King.' So also श्वशुर्यः 'son of the father-in-law.'

क्षत्रादयः ॥ १३८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षत्रादयःपत्ये ष; प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix 'gha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'Kshattra'.

Thus क्षत्रियः 'a Kshatriya.' This is also a class name. The son of क्षत्र will be क्षत्रिः ॥ The affix ष here should not be confounded with the technical ष which means the affixes णप् and णम् (I. 1. 22).

कुलात्सः ॥ १३९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलशब्दान्तात् प्रातिपदिकाल्लेखलाद्यापत्ये सः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal-stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula.'

In the next sûtra, it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat' and 'ḍhakañ.' That indicates by implication that the present sûtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also. Thus कुलीनः, आर्यकुलीनः, श्रेष्ठिकुलीनः ॥

अपूर्वपदान्यतरस्यां यङ्ढकञौ ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपूर्वपदान्. अन्यतरस्यां. यत्, ढकञौ ॥

वशिः ॥ अत्रियमानं पूर्वपदं यस्य तत्पूर्वपदं, समाससंबन्धिनः पूर्वपदस्याभावेन कुलशब्दो विशेष्यते । अपूर्वपदात्कुलशब्दादभ्यन्तरस्यां यन् ढक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । ताभ्यां युक्ते खोपि भवति ॥

140. The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढक्' come optionally after the word 'kula,' when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I. 4. 14).

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound. Thus कुल्यः, कौलेयकः ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally,' we get the affix ख also. Thus कुलीनः ॥ The word कुल्यः has udatta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 213).

The word पद has been defined in I. 4. 14. The word बहु is not a pada. Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes. Thus बहुकुल्यः, बाहुकुलेयकः and बाहुकुलीनः ॥

महाकुलाद्श् खञौ ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ महा-कुलात्, अश्, खञौ, ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यतरस्यामित्युनवर्तते । पक्षे खः ।

141. The affixes 'अश्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula.'

Thus माहाकुलः, माहाकुलीनः and महाकुलीनः ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV. 1. 139.

दुष्कुलाद्ढक् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुष्कुलान्, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुष्कुलशब्दादपत्ये ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ।

142. The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkala.'

Thus दुष्कुलेयः ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also. Thus दुष्कुलीनः ॥

स्वसुश्छः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वसुः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वसुशब्दादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant, after the word स्वसु ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वस्रीयः 'the sister's son.'

भ्रातुर्व्यच्च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातुः, व्यत्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृशब्दादपत्ये व्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति । चकारच्छच्च ॥

144. The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sūtra, we get the affix छ as well.

This debars अङ् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्यः or भ्रात्रीवः 'the brother's son'. The तु of व्यन् regulates the accent, making it svarita.

व्यन्सपत्ने ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यन्, सपत्ने (भ्रातुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृव्यश्च व्यन्प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चैवमिदं सपत्न उच्यते ॥

145. The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'an enemy'.

The word सपत्न means 'enemy'. The sense of descendant is not connoted by this affix. The difference between व्यन् and व्यन् is in accent (VI. 1. 185 and VI. 1. 197). Thus पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy". भ्रातृव्यः कण्ठकः "the enemy is a thorn".

रेवत्यादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-आदिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवतीत्येवमादिभ्योऽपत्ये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c.

This of course debars इक् &c. Thus रेवती + ठक् = रेवतिकः 'the son of Revati'. So also माभपालिकः (VII. 3. 50)

1 रेवती, 2 अम्भपाली, 3 मणिपाली, 4 हारपाली, 5 वृकशम्भिन, 6 वृकबन्धु, 7 वृकमाह, 8 कर्णमाह, 9 हण्डमाह, 10 कुम्भूदाश, 11 (ककुशास) 12 चानरमाह.

गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने, ण, च (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रं गृह्यते। गोत्रं या स्त्री तदभिभाषिणः सन्मातृपत्ये णः प्रत्ययो भवति; चकारादुठक्च, कुत्सने गम्यमाने। पितृसविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशोपपत्यस्य कुत्सा ॥

147. And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting a Gotra-descendant.

By the force of the word च in the sūtra we get the affix ठक् also. When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy; hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet'. Thus गार्गी is a female gotra-descendant. Her son will be called गार्गः, as गार्गः जाल्मः ॥ So also गार्गिकः ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लौचकायनी will be ग्लौचकायनः and ग्लौचकायनिकः ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix,

Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant'. Observe कारिकेयो जाल्मः (formed by ठक् IV. 1. 120). Why do we say 'female descendant? Observe औपगवि जाल्मः ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो मातृवकः which is to be explained as गार्ग्यो अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मानान्हादेरुपलक्षणापर्योक्तं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

वृद्धादठ्कसौवीरेषु बहुलम् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्, ठक्, सौवीरेषु, बहुलम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये बहुलं ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā भागपूर्वपदो विंशतिर्द्वितीयस्तार्णबिन्दवः ॥

द्वितीयस्त्वाकषापेयो गोत्राद्वृद्धबहुलं ततः ॥

148. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant after a Vṛddha word denoting Sauvīra Gotras.

Thus भागविचिकः 'the son of Bhāgavitti'. So also तार्णबिन्दविकः formed from तृणबिन्दु + भण् (IV. 1. 83) तार्णबिन्दवः, and then adding ठक् ॥ In the alternative we have the affix कक् (IV. 1. 101) as भागवित्तायनः, so also तार्णबिन्दविः ॥ The word अकषाप belongs to Subhrādi class IV. 1. 123: and forms आकषापेयः, his son will be आकषापेयिकः or आकषापेयिः ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed, we have भागवित्तायनः only.

The operation of this sūtra is, in fact, confined to the three words भागवित्ति, तार्णबिन्दव, and आकषापेय as given in the kārikā.

Q. What is the necessity of using the word 'Vṛddha' in the sūtra, for the anuvṛtti of the word 'gotra' is understood in the sūtra, and a Sauvīra class Nominal-stem formed with a Gotra affix will necessarily have a Vṛddhi letter in its first syllable? The word Vṛddha is employed in the sūtra to stop the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः; for had 'Vṛddha' not been used, then with the anuvṛtti of गोत्र from the last sūtra, there would have come the anuvṛtti of स्त्रियाः also, but by using 'Vṛddha' the anuvṛtti of 'Gotra' only is taken, and not that of 'striyāh'.

Why do we say "of the Sauvīras"? Observe औपगविर्जात्मः ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting contempt'? Observe भागवित्तायनो माणवकः ॥ Why do we say 'diversely'? The word बहुल indicates the anomalous nature of these four sūtras IV. 1. 147 to 150. Thus the first of these viz IV. 1. 147 only denotes contempt, the last of these viz IV. 1. 150, denotes 'Sauvīra' only and not contempt; whilst the middle two namely IV. 1. 148 and 189 denote both 'contempt' and 'Sauvīra'.

फेच्छ च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ फेः, छ-च (कुत्सने-सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किमन्तात्प्रातिपदिकान् सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये छः प्रत्ययो भवति अकारादठ्क कुत्सने गम्यमाने ॥

Kārikā यमुन्धश्च सुयाया च वार्ष्यायणिः किम् स्मृताः ।

सौवीरेषु च कुत्सायां द्वौ योगौ शब्दवित् स्मरेत् ॥

189. When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a des-

endant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix किम् and denoting a Sauvira Gotra.

Thus the son of यमुन्द् will be यामुन्दायनिः formed by the affix किम् (IV. 1. 154) as this word belongs to Tikādi class. The son of Yāmundāyani will be either यमुन्दायनीयः or यामुन्दायनिकाः ॥

But when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनिः will be यामुन्दायनिः ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + ० (II. 4. 58) = यामुन्दायनिः ॥

So also when persons of Suvira country are not meant, छ is not added. Thus तैकायनिः ॥

The कः of the sūtra refers to किम् and not to किन्, for a stem formed by किन् will not have a Vṛddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called 'Vṛddham'; and the anuvṛitti of this word is understood in the sūtra.

According to the Kārikā, three किम्न्त stems, all belonging to Tikādi class, are only governed by this sūtra viz यमुन्द्, सुयान् and वार्ष्यायणिः ॥ The son of वृष is Vārshyāyaṇi.

फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णकिञौ ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ फाण्डाहृति-मिमताभ्यां-ण-किञौ (सौवीरेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाण्डाहृतिमिमताभ्यां सौवीरविषयाभ्यामपत्ये णकिञौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affixes ण and कि come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvira country, after the words Phāṇṭāhṛiti and Mimata.

This debars फक् । By the rule of composition in II. 2. 34, the word मिमत consisting of less syllables than फाण्डाहृत्, ought to have been placed first. Its not being placed first in this sūtra indicates, that Sūtra I. 3. 10 does not apply here. So that both the affixes ण and किम् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively, Thus फाण्डाहृत्- or फाण्डाहृतायनिः ; मिमतः or मिमतायनिः ॥

When not denoting Sauvira Gotras, we have फाण्डाहृतायनः and मिमतायनः (by फक् ॥ See IV. 1. 101 and IV. 1. 99). The word मिमत belongs to Naṣṭādi-class. (IV. 1. 99).

कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-आदिभ्यः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु इत्येवमादिभ्यः कुरोभ्योऽपत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c.

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्यः ॥ So also गार्ग्यः ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV. 1. 172, so that the form कौरव्य is evolved both under the present

sûtra and sūtra 172; but the difference in these two words is this. The word कौरव्य formed by the ष्व of IV. 1. 172, loses its affix in the plural, because ष्व of IV. 1. 172 is a Tadrâja affix (see II 4. 62): but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sūtra retains its affix in the plural. As कौरव्यः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikâdi class (IV. 1. 154), and it takes as such the affix क्तिप्. As कौरव्यावधिः ॥

The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakâra. Rathakâra is a caste a little lower than the twice-born. See Yājñyavalkya Smṛiti, V. 95. But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix ष्व not by this Sūtra, but by the succeeding sūtra.

The word केशिनी occurs in this class. Its derivative will be केशिन्वः ॥ There will not be puṇvadbhâva as required by VI 3. 34 &c. For had there been puṇvadbhâva, then by मत्वै तद्धिते, all Bha bases will become puṇvad before a taddhita affix except इ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + ष्व = केशिन् + ष्व ॥ At this stage rule VI. 1. 144 will appear and cause the elision of दि and we shall have केशिन् + ष्व = केश्वः ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list.

The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature. Therefore, the form वेन्व in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect.

The word वामरथ occurs in this class. With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kaṇvâdi class, a subdivision of Gargâdi (IV. 4. 105). Thus disciples of वामरथः will be formed by the affix भञ् (IV. 2. 111). As वामरथ + भञ् = वामरथः (VI. 1. 105). The plural will be वामरथाः (II. 4. 64). The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV. 1. 16) or वामरथ्यावनी (IV. 1. 17). The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायनः (IV. 1. 101). So also it will take भञ् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV. 3. 127): as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kaṇvâdi words, for while those words being formed by the affix षच् will have udâtta on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by ष्व ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्ग (गर्ग), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक), 5 रथकार, 6 वा-  
वृक, 7 सप्तमः क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्)  
12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमन्, 14 इन्द्रजाली, (इन्द्रजालि), 15 एभिः\*, 16 वातकिः\*, 17 शम्भोष्णीधि,  
18 गणकारि, 19 कैशोरि, 20 कुद, 21 घालका (घालका), 22 सुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक),  
25 शुभः\*, 26 अभ, 27 वर्ध, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्सि, 30 शूर्पाय, 31 श्यावनाव, 32  
श्यावरथ, 33 श्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यकार, 35 वडमीकार, 36 पथिकारः\*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्ख,  
40 शाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीनः\*, 43 कर्तृ, 44 हर्तृ, 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इनपिण्डी),  
47 वामरथस्य कण्वादिचत्वरजम्. (is a Vartika). 48 विस्फोटक, 49, काक, 50 स्फाण्डक,  
51 पातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार.

सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनान्त, लक्षण, कारिभ्यः, च ( ण्यः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तान् प्रातिपदिकाल्लक्षणशब्दान् कारिभ्यश्चेभ्यश्चापत्ये ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति । कारिभ्यः कार-  
ण्यं तन्नुवायादीनां अन्त्यः ॥

152. The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ,' after the word 'lakshana,' and after words denoting artisans.

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters, &c. Thus कारिणेभ्यः हारिणेभ्यः, लक्षणेभ्यः, तानुवायेभ्यः, कौम्भकारिभ्यः, नापिभ्यः ॥

उदीच्चाभिश्च ॥ १५३ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यो ऽपत्ये इम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीच्चां मतेन ॥

153. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'lakshana,' and words expressing artisans.

Thus कारिणेभ्यः, हारिणेभ्यः, लक्षणेभ्यः, तानुवायेभ्यः, कौम्भकारिभ्यः ॥ As to the word लक्ष्ण 'carpenter.' See IV. 1. 112. It will have लक्ष्णः and लक्ष्ण्यः, but will not take इम् ॥ The word नापित् being a Vridhdha, non-gotra word, will take किम् under IV. 1. 157 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितादपिः ॥

तिक्कादिभ्यः किञ्च ॥ १५४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिक् इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन्दोभ्योऽपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'किञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक् &c.

Thus तैक्कायनिः, कैतवायनिः ॥ The word वृष occurs in this class. In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate ष as वाच्यायनिः ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya: because it is immediately preceded by the word भारिष्ठ = उरसा घेते = उरघः भाविद्यः, his son will be aurâṣa with, अम् which ends in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV. 1. 168). But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV. 1. 150 will take the affix इञ् and not किम् of this Sûtra. See II. 4. 58 and 68.

1 तिक्, 2 कितव, 3 संज्ञा, 4 बाल ( बाल ) 5 धिया, 6 उरस् ( उरघ ), 7 घाञ् ( घाञ्च ) 8 सेन्धव, 9 यमुन्, 10 रुच्य, 11 भान्ध, 12 नील, 13 भनिच, 14 गौकरव, 15 कुड ( कड ) 16 देवरप, 17 तैतल ( तैतिल ) 18 भौरस ( भौरघ ), 19 कौरव्य, 20 भौरिकि, 21 भौरिकि, 22 चोपयत, 23 चेटयत, 24 चीकयत ( चैकयत ) 25 चैतयत, 26 वाञ्चवत् ( वाञ्चवत् K. ) 27 चन्द्रमस, 28 शुभ, 29 गङ्गा, 30 वरेण्य, 31 मुपामन्, 32 भारव ( भारव ), 33 वरका, 34 खल्यका ( खल्या; खल्य ) 35 वृष, 36 लोमक, 37 उरस ( उरव्य ) 38 व-

३९ सुयामन्, ४० कृद्व (कृच्छ), ४१ भीत, ४२ आजन्, ४३ रत्न, ४४ लवक, ४५ अजवर, ४६ वसु, ४७ बन्धु, ४८ भावन्धका ( as well as भावन्धका ).

कौसल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां च ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौसल्य-कार्मार्याभ्यां च (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौसल्यकार्मार्यशब्दाभ्यामपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इगुकासल्यकार्मार्याभ्यां वृत्तिः ॥

155. The affix किम् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words Kausalya, and Kârmârya.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कौसल्यायनिः and कार्मार्यायनिः ॥ These words, however, do not mean "the son of कौसल्य or कार्मर्य," but they mean "the son of कौसल, and कर्मर," because of the following Vârtika

Vârti:—The words इगु, कोसल, कर्मर, छाग and वृष take the augment युट् before the affix किम् ॥ Thus शगप्यायनिः, कौसल्यायनिः, कार्मार्यायनिः, छाग्यायनिः and वार्यायनिः ॥

अणो द्वयचः ॥ १५६ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणन्ताद् द्वयचः प्रातिपदिकादपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वरादीनां वा किम् वक्तव्यः ॥

156. The affix 'phiñ' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic word ending in the affix 'अण्'.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus कार्यायनिः 'son of Kârtra,' हार्यायनिः 'son of a Hârtra.'

Why do we say "which ends in the affix अण्"? Observe दाक्षायणः 'son of Dākshî' (IV. 1. 101). Why do we say a 'dissyllabic word? Observe औपगविः 'son of औपगव' ॥

Vârti:—The pronouns 'tyad &c.' optionally take the affix किम् or अण् ॥ Thus त्यादायनिः or त्यादः, दादायनिः or दादः, तादायनिः, or तादः ॥

उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रत् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, वृद्धात्, अगोत्रात् (किम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धं वृद्धादगोत्रमगोत्रं तस्यादपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति उदीचाभाचार्याणां मतेन ॥

157. According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, after words with a Vridhhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus आश्वगुप्तयनिः "son of आश्वगुप्त," मानस्ययनिः 'son of मानस' ॥ नापितायनिः 'son of a barber.' This latter is formed in spite of IV. 1. 152, because rule I. 4. 2 applies here.

Why do we say 'according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians'? Observe आश्वगुप्तिः. Why do we say 'after a word having a Vridhhi in the first syllable'? Observe यज्ञरत्तिः 'son of यज्ञरत्त.' Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगविः ॥



वाकिनादीनां कुक्च ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाकिन-आदीनां, कुक्च (फिक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाकिन इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन्दोभ्योऽपत्ये किम् प्रत्ययो भवति सस्त्रिभ्योऽनेन त्रैषां कुगागमः ॥

158. The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vâkina &c. when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

This वाकिनकायनिः, गोरथकायनिः ॥ This debars इम् &c. But if the anuvṛitti of वृषीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule. In that case we have in the alternative :—वाकिनिः, गोरथिः ॥

1 वाकिन, 2 गोरथ (गोरथ K.) 3 कार्कष (कार्कष्य K.), 4 काक, 5 लूक, 6 चर्मिष-  
मिषोर्नलोपच ॥

पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १५९ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुत्रान्ताव्यातिपरिकायः किम्प्रत्ययस्तास्मिन् परस्मै अन्यतरस्यां कुगागमो भवति पुत्रान्तरत्वे ॥

159. The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pûtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows.

The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read into this sūtra. Of course, a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra-word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant. Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vṛiddhi in the first syllable will take the affix किम् by IV. 1. 157; the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक् optionally.

Thus we have three forms :—गार्गीपुत्रकायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रायनिः or गार्गीपुत्रिः ॥ So also वात्सीपुत्रकायनिः, वात्सीपुत्रायनिः and वात्सीपुत्रिः ॥

प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राचाम्, अवृद्धात्, फिन्, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाच्छब्दरूपापत्ये किन् प्रत्यया भवति बहुले प्राचां वलेन ॥

160. According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vṛiddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant.

Thus ग्लुचुकायनिः or ग्लुचुकिः 'son of Gluchuka', ॥ अहिचुम्बकायनिः or अहिचुम्बिः ॥ Why do we say, "not having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable"? Observe एजवन्तिः ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुलं and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed. Why two are used in this sūtra viz. प्राचां and बहुलं? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect, and बहुलं is used to express the non-uniformity of the sūtra construction. In some places this affix किन् is not at all added, as 'वासीः', 'लासिः' ॥

मनोजातावय्यतो युक् च ॥ १६१ ॥ मनोः-जातौ, अय-यतौ, युक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्यादयम् यन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तस्मात्त्रियोगेन पुगागमः समुदायेन येज्जातिर्गन्धवे ॥

Kārikā अपत्ये कुत्सिते मूढे मनोरौत्सारिकः स्तब्धः ।

नकारस्य च शुद्ध्यन्त्यस्तेन सिद्धाति माणवः ॥

161. The affixes अय and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment युक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that, the whole word so formed denotes a class name (jāti).

Thus मनु + युक् + अय = मानुषः "a man or man-kind". So also मनुष्यः formed with यत् ॥ These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषाः "men". When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अय् as मनु + अय् = मानवः 'son of Manu', as in मानसी प्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, there न is changed into ण and denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied.

अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ १६२ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौत्रप्रभृति यदपत्यं तद्गोत्रसंज्ञं भवति ॥

162. A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra.

When an offspring, with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra. Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गिः, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गिः with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्यः ॥ Similarly वात्स्यः ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendants or the son will not be called Gotra. Thus कौञ्जिकः, गार्गिः ॥

जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीवति, तु, वंश्ये, युवा (अपत्यं-पौत्रप्रभृति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिजनप्रबन्धो वंशः । तत्रभवो वंश्यः पित्रादि, तस्मिन् जीवति सति पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्यं युवसंज्ञं भवति ॥

163. But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only.

The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line'. One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्यः ॥ When such

a vaṅśya is alive, then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan. The phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य in the sūtra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् अर् अपत्यम् 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sūtra, however, this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c." Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made. Thus गर्भः being the head, we have गर्भिः

अपत्यम् — { गर्भिः (son or putra)  
गर्भः (Gotra)  
गर्ग्यायणः (Yuvan) if Gārga or Gārgi &c

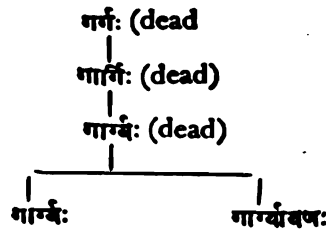
be alive). The force of the word ह्य, in the sūtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well.

भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भ्रातरि, च, ज्यायसि ( जीवति-अपत्य-पौत्रप्रभृति-युवा ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातरि ज्यायसि जीवति कनीयान् युवसंज्ञो भवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यम् ॥

164. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c.

Even when a वंश्वः like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vaṅśya), the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive; thus:



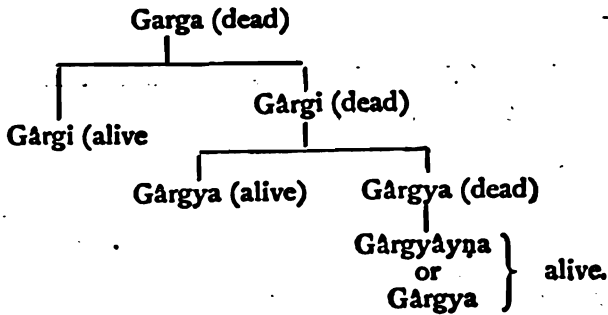
The word वंश्वः is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vaṅśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises. This sūtra applies to cases when Vaṅśya is not meant. Thus Gārgyāyana is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gārgya; similarly Vātsyāyana, Dākṣāyana, and Plākṣāyana.

वान्यास्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, अन्यस्मिन्, स-पिण्डे, स्थविरतरे, जीवति ( अपत्य-पौत्र प्रभृति युवा ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्रातृव्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञो वा भवति ॥

165. The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a more superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The sapinda relationship extends up to seven degrees. The word *स्यविर* means 'superior', and *स्यविरतर* is comparative and means 'more superior', that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*. The word *जीवति* is again read in this aphorism, though there is the *anuvṛtti* of *जीवति* also from IV. I. 163. This *जीवति* of the sūtra qualifies the word descendant, the *जीवति* which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinda thus :—



Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra.

**वृद्धस्य च पूजायाम् ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धस्य, च, पूजायाम् (वा-युवा) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धमिति शास्त्रान्तरे परिभाषणाङ्गोचं वृद्धमित्युच्यते । वृद्धस्य युवसंज्ञो वा भवति पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । संज्ञासामर्थ्याङ्गोचं युवप्रत्ययेन पुनरुच्यते ॥

166. The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended.

The word *Vṛiddha* is another term for Gotra. As *तत्र भवान् गर्ग्यायणः* or *गार्ग्यः* "you honored Gargyāyana or Gārgya". This sūtra is in fact a *Vārtika* and not a sūtra of Pāṇini. Similarly *तत्र भवान् वात्स्यायनः* or *वात्स्यः*, *तत्र भवान् शास्त्रायणः* or *शास्त्रिः* ॥

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, *वात्स्यः* and *गार्ग्यः* ॥ The definition of *Vṛiddham* as given by other Grammarians is *अपत्यमन्तर्हित वृद्धम्* ॥

**यूनश्च कुत्सायाम् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यूनः, च, कुत्सायाम्- (वा-युवा) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** कुत्सायां गम्यमानायां युनो वा युवसंज्ञो भवति ॥

167. The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended.

Thus *गार्ग्यो जातमः* or *गर्ग्यायणो जातमः* ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is *गार्ग्यायणः* ॥ This is also a *Vārtika* and not a sūtra.

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादङ् ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियात् अङ् ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दो यः क्षत्रियवाची तस्यापत्ये ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
 वार्तिकम् ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदशब्दात्तस्य ऽङ्प्रत्ययत्वम् ॥

168. The affix अङ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word, which while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas.

Thus पाञ्चालः 'the son of Pañchala', so also वैदेहः and वैदेहः are Kshatriyas who live in that country. Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriya, but not of the name of a country, अङ् will not be used but अञ्, the difference being in the accent. Thus द्रुह्यः 'the son of Drūhya'; पुरः 'the son of Puru.' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriyas? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV. 1. 95) 'the son of Pañchāla a Brahmana'; so also वैदेहिः ॥

*Vdt.*—Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king thereof. Thus पञ्चालनाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pañchāla or of the country of Pañchālas'. So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'.

The words Pañchāla &c. originally are names of Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them,' is elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus the same word पञ्चाल comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchāla. It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchāla &c. as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas. In fact, Pāṇini himself considers them in the same light in this sūtra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sūtra IV. 2. 81. These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालः, in denoting the Kshatriya, they are in the singular.

साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वेय-गान्धारिभ्यां, च (अङ्) ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यामपत्ये ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

169. The affix अङ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sālveya' and 'Gāndhāri'.

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well. Therefore, by sūtra IV. 1. 171 they having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyañ', the present sūtra enjoins 'añ' instead. Thus साल्वेयः 'the son of Sālveya, or the king of Sālveya', गान्धारः 'the son of Gāndhāri

or the king of Gāndhāri? The vārtika under Sūtra IV. 1. 168 given above applies here also, i. e. the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

अङ्गमगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादण् ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गच्-मगध-कलिङ्ग-सूरमसाद-  
अण् (जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाभिधायिनो अङ्गो मगध कलिङ्ग सूरमस इत्येतेभ्यश्चापत्येऽण्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

107. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sūramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ्गः. Thus अङ्गः, वाङ्गः; मगधः, कालिङ्गः, and सूरमसः 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Banga, Magadha, Kalinga and Suramasa'. Similarly पौण्ड्रः, सौह्यः ॥ The Vārtika 'तस्यपञ्चनि' given above applies to this also, as आङ्गो पञ्चा, गान्धारे पञ्चा &c.

वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाङ्ग्यङ् ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्ध-इत्-कोसल-अजादात्, अङ्ग्यङ्  
(जनपदशब्दात्-क्षत्रियात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादित्येव । वृद्धाच्च प्रातिपदिकादिकापन्त्याच्च कोसलाजादशब्दायां चापत्ये अङ्ग्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पाण्डोर्जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियाद् इषण् वक्तव्यः ॥

171. The affix 'अङ्ग्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajāda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas.

This debars अङ्गः. Thus, to give example of Vriddha words, आम्बश्वः सौवीर्यः 'the sons or kings of Ambashṭha and Sauvīra'. Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्यः and कौन्त्यः 'the son or kings of Avanti and Kunti'. These are words ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्यः and आजायः, which are neither Vriddhas nor end in short इ ॥

Vārt.—The affix 'द्याङ्' comes after the word 'Pāṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe. Thus पाण्डवः, otherwise it will be पाण्डवः ॥ See IV. 1. 74.

कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्यः ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुरु-नादिभ्योः, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादित्येव । कुरुशब्दान्नादिभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

172. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also.

This debars 'aṇ' and 'aḥ'. Thus कौरव्यः, नैषधः 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha'. The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥ How do you explain the form नैषधोऽस्ति चैषधः? This is an archaic or Vedic form. How then in सनैषधस्त्यार्यपतेः सुतार्यः? This is a poetic license.

साल्वावयव-प्रत्ययप्रथमकलकूटाश्मकादिभ्यः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ साल्वावयव-प्रत्ययप्रथम-  
कलकूट-अश्मकात्, इङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदवाङ्मातृ क्षत्रियारित्येव ॥ साल्वावयवेभ्यः प्रत्ययप्रथमकलकूटाश्मकादिभ्यश्चापत्ये इङ् प्रत्यये  
भवति ॥

*Kārikā* वदुम्बरस्तिलखला मद्रकाय युगन्धराः ।

भुलिङ्गाः शारदण्डाश्च साल्वावयवसंज्ञिताः ॥

173. The affix इङ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sālva; and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakūta', and 'Asmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes.

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriya woman, her son will be साल्वेवः (IV. 1. 121) formed by इङ्; also साल्वः formed by अङ् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्वः which is the name of a country.

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz Udumbarāḥ, Tilakhalāḥ, Madrakarāḥ, Yugandharāḥ, Bhulingāḥ and Śaradaṇḍāḥ. The patronymic from these will be : औदुम्बरिः, तिलखलिः, मद्रकारिः, युगन्धरिः, भौलिङ्गिः and शारदण्डिः ॥ So also the affix 'in' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c. As प्रात्यग्रथिः, कालकूटिः and आश्मकिः ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of'. As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to Mahābhāṣya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍha, and Ājakanda also take this affix, as बौसः, आजमीडिः and आजकान्दिः ॥

ते तद्राजाः ॥ १७४ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेऽप्रात्यस्तत्राजसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

174. These (viz the affixes अङ् IV. 1. 168 &c) are called Tadrāja ('the king there of') affixes.

The affixes treated of in these six sūtras 168 to 173 are called Tadrāja. The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of before S. IV. 1. 168; for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan see II. 4. 62. The illustrations of these have already been given under each of the above six aphorisms.

कम्बोजाल्लुक् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कम्बोजात्-लुक् (तद्राजस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कम्बोजात् प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्यो लुक्वचनं चोल/घर्यम् ॥

175. After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix.

Namely the affix **अम्** which would have come after the word **कम्बोज** because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided. Thus **कम्बोजः** 'The king of Kamboja'.

*Vârt*:—It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after 'Cholâ' &c. Thus **चोलः** 'the king of Cholâs'. So also **केरलः** **राक्षः**, **श्वनः** ॥

**स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, अवन्ति-कुन्ति-कुरुभ्यः, च ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्येभ्य उत्यमस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुग्भवति ॥**

176. In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words **Avanti**, **Kunti** and **Kuru**.

That is to say the affix 'nyah' (IV. 1. 171) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'nya' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female. Thus **अवन्ती**, **कुन्ती** and **कुरु** 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru'. The word **कुरु** takes **कृह** in the feminine by IV. 1. 66. Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe **आवन्त्यः**, **कौरव्यः** and **कौन्त्यः** ॥

**अतश्च ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अतः-च (स्त्रियाम्, लुक्) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अकारप्रत्ययस्य तद्राजस्य स्त्रियामभिधेयायां लुग्भवति ॥**

177. In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix **अ**, the affix is **luk**-elided.

Thus *m. शौरसेनः, f. शूरसेनी*; *m. तद्राजः, f. तद्री* ॥ The word **अतः** of the sūtra should not be construed by the rule of *tadanata vidhi* (I. 1. 72). If so construed it will mean "a Tadrâja affix ending in **अ** is elided". There have been taught five Tadrâja affixes, namely 'añ (**अ**)', 'aṇ (**अ**)', 'ñyah (**य**)', 'nya (**य**)' and 'in (**इ**)'. Of these the first four all end in **अ**; therefore all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine. But this is not the meaning of the author; for had it been so, there would have been no necessity of the previous sūtra, for then the present sūtra would have covered the case of 'Avanti', 'Kunti' and 'Kuru'. But the very fact of this sūtra IV. 1. 176 indicates by **ज्ञापक**, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here. Therefore, the feminine of **आम्वह्यः** is **आम्वह्या**, of **सौवीर्यः** is **सौवीर्या** ॥



नप्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः ॥ १७८ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राच्येभ्यो भर्गादिभ्यो यौधेयादिभ्योत्पन्नस्य लुङ् भवति । अतश्चेत्यनेन विद्यां लुङ् प्राप्तः प्राक्-  
विद्यति ॥

178. The Tadarāja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bhargā' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c.

This sūtra debars the elision of the Tadrāja affix अ (required by the last sūtra). Thus प्रांचाली, वेदेही, भांगी, बांगी, नागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in countries east of the Sarāvati river. Similarly of भर्ग &c. Thus भार्गी, कारुषी, केकेयी ॥ So also of यौधेय &c. Thus यौधेयी, यौधेयी and यौकेयी ॥ The Tadrāja affixes taught above are five, but besides these there are others taught in the fifth Adhyāya (V. 3. 112 to 119). The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V. 3. 177 अम्). The present rule, therefore, indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV. 1. 177 applies not only to the Tadrāja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrāja affixes taught in V. 3. 112 to 119. Thus the Tadrāja affix अम् in (V. 3. 117) added to वसु &c. is elided in the feminine: e. g. m. पार्श्वः f पार्श्वी, m भासुरः f भासुरी—&c.

1 भर्ग, 2 कारुष (कारुष), 3 केकेय, 4 कम्भीर, 5 सार्व, 6 सुत्यान्, 7 वरस  
(वरस and वरस). 8 कौरव्य.

1 यौधेय, 2 यौकेय, 3 यौधेय, 4 ज्यावाण्य (यावाण्य), 5 धौतैय (धौतैयः धौतैय)  
6 विगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उद्यानिर, 9 गार्तैय ॥

ओ३म् ।

## अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ।

BOOK FOURTH.

CHAPTER SECOND.

तेन रक्तं रागात् ॥ १ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद्वागविशेषवाचिनः शब्दाद्वक्तमित्यतास्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

1. The affix अण् already ordained ( IV. 1. 83 ) comes after the name of a colour in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रङ्ग means to change white into another color. That by which a thing is coloured is called रागः 'color'. तेन 'by which', i. e. after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour. Thus कपायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red'. So also मांजिष्ठम्, कौस्तुभम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तने रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण् will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour.

In the sentence "काषायो गर्भस्य कर्णौ, हारिद्रौ कुक्षदस्यादौ" the words काषाय and हारिद्र are used metaphorically.

From this sūtra up to IV. 2. 12 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word which is in the instrumental case in construction in a sentence (IV. 1. 82): as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case.

लाक्षा रोचना शकल कर्दमादृक् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ लाक्षा, रोचना, शकल, कर्दमात्, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लाक्षादिभ्यो एगवचनेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो रक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नील्या अण् वक्तव्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पीताण् कण् वक्तव्यः ॥

वा० ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामभ्रवक्तव्यः ॥

2. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words *lākshâ, rochanâ, sakala, and kardama*, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars **अञ्** ॥ Thus *लाक्षाया रक्तं वस्त्रं* = लाक्षिकम्, so also *शैवानिकम्, शाकानिकम्* and *कार्शनिकम्* ॥

According to the opinion of Patanjali, the affix **अञ्** also comes after **शकल** and **कर्शम्** : 1. Thus *शाकलम्* and *कार्शम्* ॥ According to *Mahâbhâshya* the words **शकल** and **कर्शम्** do not occur in the *sûtra*, but are given in the *Vârtika*.

*Vart*:—The affix **अञ्** comes after **नीली**: as *नील्या रक्तं* = नीलं वस्त्रं ॥

*Vart*:—The affix **कञ्** (I. 3. 8) comes after **पीत**, as *पीतेन रक्तं* = पीतकम् ॥

*Vart*:—The affix **अम्** comes after **हरिद्रा** and **महापञ्चन**, as *हरिद्रम्* and *महापञ्चनम्* ॥

**नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः ॥ ३ ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** इतीयासमर्थान् नक्षत्रविशेषवाचिनः पञ्चाङ्गं युक्तं इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वयाविहितं प्रत्यये भवति । योसौ युक्तः, कालश्चेत्य भवति ॥

3. The affix **अण्** already ordained 1V. 1. 83 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism.

A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism. Thus **पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा** &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism in order to denote time of such conjunction. Thus **पुष्य + अण् - पीपः** (VI. 4. 149) e. g. *पीपिरात्रिः* "the night in which moon is in Pushya". So also *माघी रात्रिः* ; *पीपमह* 'the month in which the moon is full in Pushya i. e. December'. so also *माघमह* 'the month Mâgha' &c.

Why do we say **नक्षत्रेण** 'connected with the asterism'? Observe **चन्द्र-मता युक्ता रात्रिः** ॥ Why do we say **काल** 'time'? Observe **पुष्येण युक्तचन्द्रमा** ॥

**लुपविशेषे ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-अविशेषे ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** पूर्वेण विहितस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति अविशेषः ।

4. The affix above ordained is elided by **lup**, when there is no specification.

That is the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of time such as

night &c. Thus अयः पुष्यः 'to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to-day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya ; but by 'to-day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular is meant, but both alike. The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision.

संज्ञायां ऋवणाश्वत्याभ्याम् ॥ ५ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवणशब्दाश्चत्यशब्दाद्योत्पन्नस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति संज्ञायां विशेषे ॥

5. The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Śravaṇa and Asvatha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time.

Thus ऋवणा रात्रिः, अश्वत्यो मुहूर्तः "the night called Śravaṇā ; the Muhūrta called Aśvattha". The affix being elided by 'lup', why should not I. 2. 51 apply here ? We should say ऋवणाः रात्रिः and not ऋवण रात्रिः. The reason is that ऋवणा is an irregularly formed word, as Pāṇini himself uses it in sūtra IV. 2. 23. Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñā' ? Observe आवणी or आश्वत्यी रात्रिः ।

द्वन्द्वाच्छः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-छ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वात्तृतीयासमर्थाद्युक्ते काले छः प्रत्ययो भवति विशेषे चा विशेषे च ॥

6. The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, when it is in the instrumental case in construction, to signify time connected with the asterism whether there be a specification or not.

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रिः, तिष्यपुनर्वसुधीयमहः ॥ So also when there is no specification : as अथ राधानुराधीयम्, अथ तिष्यपुनर्वसुधीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sūtra, being a subsequent sūtra, will debar IV. 2. 4 which ordains lup (I. 4. 2).

दृष्टं साम ॥ ७ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दृष्टं सामेत्यात्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यद् दृष्टं साम चेत्तद्वति ॥

7. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of seen—the thing seen by the one whose name is in the Instrumental case, being the Sāma Veda.

Thus कुरुञ्चन दृष्टं = कुरुञ्चं साम "the portion of the Sāma seen by (or revealed to) Kuruñcha." So also वासिष्ठम्, वैश्वामित्रम् ॥

कलेदंक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलेः-दंक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलिघञ्जास्तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेव्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सर्वत्राग्निकलिभ्याङ्गवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वृष्टे सामनि अण् वा ङिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जाते चार्थे योन्येन बाधितः पुनरपिधीयते स वा ङिङ्गवतीति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तीयाशीकङ् स्वार्थे वा वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ न विद्यायाः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गोचारङ्गुपरिष्वते ॥

Kārikā वृष्टे सामनि जाते च ङिङ्गवतीति विधीयते ।

तीयाशीकङ् न विद्याया गोचारङ्गुपरिष्वते ॥

8. The affix ङङ् comes, in the sense of Sama-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना वृष्टं साम=कालेब ॥ "The Sama Veda revealed to Kali". This sūtra is really a Vārtika and not a sūtra of Pāṇini.

Vārt.—The affix 'ḍhak' comes always after अग्नि and कर्त्ति; not merely in the sense of Sama-Veda seen. Thus अग्निना वृष्टं साम=आग्नेयम् 'the Sama-Veda revealed to Agni'. अग्नौ भव=आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV. 3. 53) अग्ने-एणत्वं "what has come from Agni" =आग्नेयम् (IV. 3. 74) &c. Similarly कालेबन् means 'the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c.,

Vārt.—The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory इ when the sense is that of Sama-Veda seen. Thus उचानसा वृष्टं साम=मौचानसम् or मौचानम् (the force of ङिङ् being to elide the णि portion; VI. 4. 143).

Vārt.—The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as ङिङ्, provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV. 3. 11, is re-ordained by IV. 3. 16. The affix अण् governs all sūtras up to IV. 4. 2 by force of IV. 1. 83.; but it is debarred by ङङ् of IV. 3. 11, and is re-ordained in IV. 3. 16. Thus घतभिषजि जातः=घतभिषः or घतभिषजः ॥

Vārt.—The affix ईकङ् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वितीयकम् or द्वितीयकम्, तर्तीयकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vārt.—Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vārt.—The affix वुम् IV. 3. 126 has the force of "Sama-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra-word. This औपगवकम् or कापटवकम् 'the Sama-Veda seen by Aupagava, or Kāpaṭava'. The affix वुम् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charaṇa.

वामदेवाङ्, ङ्यङ्, ङ्यौ ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ वामदेवात्-ङ्यत्-ङ्यौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वामदेवघञ्जान् तृतीयासमर्थाद् वृष्टं सामेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ङङ् वृष्ट इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

Kārikā सिद्धे यत्येतौपेन किमर्थं ययतां द्वितौ ।

मह्यं माष्टर्ये भूक्षामदेवस्य नमस्तरे ॥

9. The affixes **उयत्** and **उय** come in the sense of the Sāma-Veda seen, after the word Vāmadeva, being in the Instrumental case in construction.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus वामदेवेन हृष्टं वाम = वामदेव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory **त्** in 'dyat' shows that **व** has svarita accent (VI. 1. 125).

Q. What is the use of the indicatory **त्**?

Ans. The final syllable is elided when a **ङित्** affix is added, by VI.

4. 143.

Q. The final **व** of वामदेव would have been elided without making this affix **ङित्**, by the rule VI. 4. 148, then what is the use of making this affix **ङित्**?

Ans. Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz. Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकमहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it". सदानुबन्धकमहणे नातदानुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it".

For had **व** and **यत्** been only taught instead of 'ḍya' and 'ḍyat', then by rule VI. 2. 156 the final of such word, with the negative particle **अ**, would take udāta on the final, but that is not the case. Therefore अवामदेव्यं is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI. 2. 2). As अवामदेव्यं ॥

परिवृतो, रथः ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिवृतः रथः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थात्परिवृत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ परिवृतो रथश्चेत्य भवति ॥

10. The affix **अण्** comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded' the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus वस्त्रेण परिवृतो रथः = वाहः "a chariot surrounded with cloth". So also काम्बलः, चर्मणः ॥ Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot'? Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृतः कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' the word परिवृत means covered from all sides. The affix will not be used if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलादिनि ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाण्डु-कम्बलात्-इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाण्डुकम्बलपदशब्दात् तृतीयासमर्थात् परिवृतो रथ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इनि प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix **इनि** comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

This debarb अङ् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रयः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket'. The word पाण्डुकम्बल means the housing of a royal elephant. The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इति of V. 2. 115, the present sūtra is made in order to debar the affix अङ् ॥

द्वैपवैयाघ्रादङ् ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वैप-वैयाघ्रात्-अङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वीपिव्याघ्रयोर्विकारभूते चर्मणी द्वैपवैयाघ्रे, ताभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां परिवृतो रय इत्येवस्मिन्नर्थे अङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The अङ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and 'vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'.

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रयः = रैपः 'a car covered with a tiger's skin'. So also वैयाघ्रः ॥ This affix अङ् debarb अङ्, the difference between these two being in accent only.

कौमारापूर्ववचने ॥ १३ ॥ कौमार-अपूर्व-वचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कौमार इत्येतद्व्युत्पत्त्यन्तं निपात्यते अपूर्ववचने ॥

Kārikā कौमारापूर्ववचने कुमार्या अप्विधीयते ।

अपूर्वत्वं यदा तस्याः कुमार्या भवतीति वा ॥

13. The word 'kaumâra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'.

Thus कौमारो भर्ता = अपूर्वपति कुमारीमुपपन्नः 'the husband of a virgin'. i. e. one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). So also कौमारी भार्या = कुमारी अपूर्वपतिः पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i. e. a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow). In both these cases the word refers to the woman.

The word कौमार is formed by adding अङ् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याच्चा मारः = कौमारः; तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-उद्धृतम्, अमत्रेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थादमत्रवाचिनः शब्दाद्धृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

14. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon' after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction.

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i. e. a word in the seventh case in construction. अमत्रे means 'vessels'; उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse

of dinner'. Thus घारावेष्टुतः = घाराव ओदनः "boiled rice placed on a dish." So also माल्लिकः, कार्ष्णः ॥

Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel"? Observe पाणवुत ओदनः 'boiled rice placed on the hand'.

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sūtras upto IV. 2. 20 inclusive.

स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थण्डिलात्-शयितरि-व्रते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थण्डिलशब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थान् शयितर्यभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, समुदायेन चेद्व्रतं गम्यते ॥

15. The affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितुं व्रतमस्य = स्थण्डिलः 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i. e. an ascetic or a Brahmachārī.

Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मदत्तः 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare ground', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure. The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by religious codes'.

संस्कृतं भक्षाः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम्-भक्षाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थ्यात्संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाभेदे गम्यते ॥

The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'.

Thus भाट्टे संस्कृता भक्षा = भाटाः 'a cake fried in the pan'. Similarly कालद्याः कौम्भाः ॥ Why do we say "if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुणः ॥

शूलोखाद्यत् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शूल-उखात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शूलशब्दादुखाद्यशब्दाच्च सप्तमीसमर्थ्यात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case.

This debars अण् (IV. 1. 83). As शूले संस्कृतं = शूल्यं 'roasted on a spit'—i. e. meat. So also ईक्ष्यत् 'flesh boiled in a pot'.

दध्मष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दध्मः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दधिघाशान् सप्तमीसमर्थ्यात्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥



18. The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus दधनि संस्कृतं = दधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'. This form will be evolved by IV. 4. 3, but the ढक् formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृतं i. e. anything prepared or seasoned with curd ; while the दधिकं of this sūtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'.

उद्भितोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्भितः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ उद्भित्छत्वात् सप्तमी समर्थान् संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थेऽन्यतरस्यां ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उद्भित् ending in the locative case in construction.

Thus औदभित्कम् (VII. 3. 51), or औदभितम् by अण् ॥

क्षीराद्ढञ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षीरात् ढञ् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ क्षीराद्यात्सप्तमीसमर्थान्संस्कृतं भक्षा इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', after the word 'Kshîra' ending in the locative case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृताः = क्षीरेयी यनाणूः 'milky gruel'.

सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायाम् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्मिन्-पौर्णमासी-इति संज्ञायाम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थान् अस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथादिहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे पौर्णमासी चेन्न भवति ॥

21. The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word स means 'that'. It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV. 1. 82 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction". अस्मिन् 'in it' i. e. in the sense of a seventh case. पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night". The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of clearness. The word संज्ञायाम् does not occur in the original sūtras of Pāṇini ; but is added by a Vartika ; and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i. e. if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year. The whole sūtra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV. 1. 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name

of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year”.

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मासः ‘the month Paus i. e. that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya’. Similarly पौषर्जमासः and पौषः संवत्सरः ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् इक्ष्वाणे, because daśarātra is not a month or a fortnight or a year.

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative. The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sūtra by the Vārtika is a redundancy.

The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way:—पुर्णो माः = पूर्णमा, पूर्णमास इयम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word माः means “moon”.

आग्रहायण्यश्वत्यादृक् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आग्रहायणी, अश्वत्यादृक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति सर्वमनुवर्तते । आग्रहायणीशब्दादश्वत्यादृक् प्रथमासमर्थात्पौर्णमास्युपाधि-  
काद् अस्मिन्निवि सप्तम्यर्थे ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of the locative case after the words ‘agrahāyaṇī’ and ‘asvattha’ ending in the first case-affix in construction and being the name of a full-noon night.

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sūtra govern this also. This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्रहायणिको मासः ‘the month called Agrahāyaṇika i. e. in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahāyaṇa. Similarly आश्वत्थिकः ॥

विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, फाल्गुनी, श्रवणा-कार्तिकी-चैत्रीभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फाल्गुन्यादयः पौर्णमासीशब्दास्तेभ्यो विभाषा ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति, सास्मिन् पौर्णमासीति संज्ञायामित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

23. The affix ढक् optionally comes after the words ‘Phālgunī’, ‘Sravana’, ‘Kārtikī’ and ‘Chaitrī’ being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full.

Thus फाल्गुनः or फाल्गुनिकः, श्रावणः or श्रावणिकः, कार्तिकः or कार्तिकिकः, चैत्रः or चैत्रिकः ॥ This optionally ordains ढक् instead of अण् ॥

सास्य देवता ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सा-अस्य, देवता ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति पठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थे देवता चेत् सा भवति ॥

24. The affix **अण्** (IV. 1. 83) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of as his.

सा = 'after a word in the 1st case in construction' **अस्य** 'in the sense of a sixth case'. **देवता** 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity'. Thus **इन्द्रो देवताऽस्य = ऐन्द्रम्** 'oblation sacred to Indra'. Similarly **अदित्यम्** 'oblation belonging to Aditya'. So also **बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम्** ॥ Why do we say "after the name of a deity"? Observe, **कन्यादेवताऽस्य**, no affix is added to **कन्या** ॥ In the sentences **ऐन्द्रोऽमन्त्राः** and **आग्नेयो वै ब्रह्मणो देवतयोति** the affix is added by analogy.

The whole phrase **साऽस्य देवता** governs up to **sūtra IV. 2. 35**. Though the word **स** was understood in this **sūtra** by **anuvṛitti** from **sūtra IV. 2. 21**, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the **anuvṛitti** of **संज्ञा** does not extend to it. The affix ordained by this **sūtra** has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like **Puroḍāśa** &c offered in a sacrifice'.

**कस्येत् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कस्य, इत् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ कस्य इकारविधो भवति प्रत्ययसन्निधौ ॥**

25. The short **इ** is the substitute of the final **अ** of **क**, when the affix is added.,

Thus **क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = कायं** "oblation sacred to Ka". As **कायं इविः, कायं ककपालं निर्वपेत् ॥**

**शुक्राद् घन् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुक्रात्-घन् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ शुक्रघट्टास्तास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे घन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

26. The affix **घन्** comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'Sukra.

This debarb **अण्** (IV. 1. 83). Thus **शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रिबन् इविः** (VII. 1. 2) 'an oblation belonging to Sukra'. Thus **शुक्रियोऽन्वयः ॥**

**अपोनप्त्रपात्रपुत्र्यां घः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपः नप्त्, अपाम् नप्त्पुत्र्याम् घः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त् अपान्नप्त् इत्येताभ्यां घः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥**

27. The affix **घ** comes after the words 'aponaptṛi' and 'apannaptṛi', in the sense of 'that its deity'.

This debarb **अण् ॥** Thus **अपोनप्त्रियं इविः** or **अपानप्त्रियम् ॥** The words **अपोनपान्** and **अपानपान्** are the names of two deities; these words irregularly assume the form ending in **नप्त्** when the affix is to be added.

**छ च ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ छ, च ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ अपोनप्त् अपान्नप्त् इत्येताभ्यां छकारः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्निषये ॥**

**वार्तिकम् ॥ छप्रकरणे पैङ्गाक्षीपुत्रादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥**

**वार्तिकम् ॥ सातस्र्याश्छअथच ॥**

28. Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptri' and 'Apānnaptri' in the sense of 'that its deity'.

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptri and Apānnaptri. This debarā भञ् ॥ Thus अपोनपत्रीयम् or अपान्नपत्रीयम् 'oblation sacred to Aponapât or Apānnapât'. This is made a separate sūtra, in order to prevent the application of rule I. 3. 10. For if it was included in the last, the sūtra would have run thus: "The affixes च and छ come after Aponaptri and Apānnaptri", the meaning of which according to maxim I. 3. 10 would have been "the affix च comes after Aponaptri, and छ after Apānnaptri". But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sūtras.

*Vdt.*—The affix छ comes after the words वैगाक्षीयम् &c. As, वैगाक्षी-पुत्रीयम्, तार्ष्विन्दीयम् ॥

*Vdt.*—The word छतरुह takes च and छ both: e. g. छतरुहीयम् and छतरुहियम् ॥

महेन्द्राद् घाणो च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ महेन्द्रात्, घ, अणो च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महेन्द्रघाणाद् घाणो प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारच्छच्, सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

29. The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity".

As महेन्द्रीयम्, महेन्द्रियम् and महेन्द्रम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'.

सोमाद् ट्यण् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमात्, ट्यण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमघाणाद् व्यण्प्रत्ययो भवति सास्यदेवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

30. The affix ट्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debarā भञ् ॥ The ण् of व्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ट् causes the affixing of ङीप् in the feminine. Thus सौम्यं हविः, सौम्यं सूक्तम्, सौमी ऋक् ॥ सौम्य + ङीप् (IV. 1. 15) = सौम्य + ई (VI. 4. 150) = सौमी ॥

वायुवृत्तुपित्रुपसो यत् ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वायु-ऋतु, पितृ-उपसः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाय्वदिभ्यः ऋद्धेभ्यो यत्यत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्येत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

31. The affix यत् comes after the names 'Vāyu', 'Ritu' 'Pitri' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity".

This debarā भञ् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम्, पित्र्यम् and उपस्यम् ॥ The form पित्र्यम् is thus evolved पितृ + यत् = पितृ + णीङ् + यत् (VII. 4. 27) = पित्र्यम् (VI. 4. 148). The पित्र्य has udātta on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213.

धावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वद्ग्रीपोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥

धावा, पृथिवी, शुनासीर, मरुत्वद्, अग्नी-पोम, वास्तोष्पति-गृह, मेधात्-छ, च ।

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यावापृथिव्यादिभ्यश्चः प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

32. . The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyāvâ Prithivî', 'Sunâsîra', 'Maruttvat', 'Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'.

This debars अच् &c. Thus व्यावापृथिवीयम् or व्यावापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth'. शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Suna (Wind) and Sîra (Sun)'. मरुत्तवीयम् or मरुत्तव्यम् ॥ अग्निपोनीयम् or अग्निपोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पवीयम् or वास्तोष्पव्यम् ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्वम् ॥

अग्नेर्देव् ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नेः, देव् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्निश्चाग्नाद् देव् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ प्राग्दीप्त्यतीयेषु तद्धितायेषु सर्वनामिकलिभ्यां ऽण्यत्कम् ॥

33. The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni.

Thus अग्निर्देवताऽस्व = अग्निर्देवताऽकपालः ॥

*Vart:*—The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prâgdivyatiya. See IV. 2. 8.

कालेभ्यो भववत् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालेभ्यो-भववत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो भववत्प्रत्यया भवन्ति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये। कालाद्देवमिति प्रकरणे भवे प्रत्यया विधास्यन्ते ते सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्नर्थे तथैवेत्यन्ते, तथर्थनिर्मुच्यन्ते ॥

34. After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV. 3. 11 to IV. 3. 53), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV. 3. 11 (read with IV. 3. 53), the affix ढम् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there'. The same affix will also come in the sense of साऽस्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भवे = मासिकम् (मास + ढम् = मास = इक VII. 3. 50); अर्द्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्, वासन्तम् (IV. 3. 16), प्रादुषेयम् (IV. 3. 17): meaning 'monthly', 'half monthly', 'annual', 'vernal', and 'rainy'. The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i. e.' as मासो देवताऽस्व मासिकम् ॥ &c.

महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाद्देव् ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराज-प्रोष्ठपदात्, देव् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दात्प्रोष्ठपदशब्दाच्च ढम् प्रत्ययो भवति सास्य देवतेत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ढम्प्रकरणे तदस्मिन्वर्ततइति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्णमासाद्देव् ॥

35. The affix ढम् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshthapada'.

Thus महाराजो देवताऽस्व = महाराजिकम्, प्रोष्ठपदिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix इस् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it'. As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिकः कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः &c.

*Vart.*—After the word पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथिः 'the day in which the full-moon occurs.'

पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहाः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितृव्य-मातुल-मातामह, पितामहाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृव्यादयो निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अवेर्गुण्ये सोऽहसमरीसचोऽवक्तव्याः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तिलान्निष्कलात्पिञ्जपेजौ प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यौ ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ पिञ्जश्छन्दसि ङिच् ॥

36. The words 'pitri-vya, a father's brother', 'mātula, a mother's brother', 'mātāmaha, a mother's father' and 'pitāmaha, a father's father' are irregularly formed.

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base. Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following rules:—पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यङ् जुलचौ "the affixes व्यङ् and जुलच् come respectively after the words pitṛi and mātṛi in the sense of his brother'. Similarly the second rule will be साभ्यां पितरि ङामहच्, मातरि ङिच् 'and the affix ṅamahach comes, in the sense of their father; and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ण् ॥ Thus पितृव्यः, मातुलः, पितामहः (f. पितामही), मातामह (f. मातामही) ॥

*Vart.*—The affixes सोऽह, इस्, and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk'. As अवेर्गुण्यम् = अविसोऽहम् or अविइस्मम् or अविमरीसम् ॥

*Vart.*—The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज् come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless. As निष्कलस्तिलः = तिलपिञ्जः and तिलपेजः ॥

*Vart.*—The affix पिञ्ज् is treated like ङिच् in the Chhandas. As तिलपिञ्जः ॥

तस्य समूहः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, समूहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थात्समूह इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वयाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वाचकम् ॥ गुणादिभ्यो मामञ्चक्तव्यः ॥

37. An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'.

The affix अण् (IV. 7. 83) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction, in the sense of collection. What is the example of this? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply. In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udātta accent on the first syllable, which

does not end with a Gotra-affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sūtras. For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix इह् by IV. 2. 47, a word having anudatta on the first syllable will have the affix अह् IV. 3. 44, a Gotra word will take वृत् IV. 2. 39 and especial words like कैवार &c take बह् &c. Making all these exclusions, the example we want is:—काकानां समूहः=काकन् 'a collection of crows' वाकन् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sūtras up to sūtra IV. 2. 51 inclusive.

*Vart.*—The affix घानच् comes after the words गुण् &c. As गुणघानः 'a collection of qualities', करणघानः &c. The following is some of such words:—गुण, करण, तत्त्व, रास्य, इन्द्रिय, &c. It is an ākṛitigāṇa.

भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा आदिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षेत्येवमादिभ्यः सभ्येभ्योऽण् मत्वयो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

38. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikṣhā' &c.

The repetition of the word अण् in this sūtra, though its anuvṛtti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule.

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः=भैक्षन् 'what is collected in the shape of alms'. So also गर्भिणी+अण्=गर्भिण्+अण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory इ, मत्याहे तद्धिते)=गर्भिणः (VI. 4. 164). In the case of युवति, the word however is not changed to its masculine form. Thus युवतीनां समूहः=यौवतन् 'a collection of young women'.

1 भिक्षा, 2 गर्भिणी, 3 भैक्ष, 4 करीष, 5 अन्नार, 6 चर्मन् (चर्मन् according to some texts) 7 सहस्र, 8 युवति, 9 पद्मति, 10 पद्मवि, 11 अथर्वन्, (also अथर्वन् K.) 12 वसिष्ठा, 13 वृत्, 14 विषय, 15 श्रोत्र, also 16 धर्मन्

गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोश्चराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद् वृञ् ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र,

उक्ष, उष्ट्र, उरश्च, राज, राजन्य, राजपुत्र, वत्स, मनुष्य-अजाद्-वृञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रादिभ्यो वृञ् मत्वयो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

वास्तिकम् ॥ वृज्जायेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

39. The affix वृञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'uk-shan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'rājan', 'rājanya', 'rājaputtra' 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'.

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring. Thus औपगवकन्, औषकन्, (VI. 4. 144) ओदकन्, और्धकन्, राजकन्, (VI. 4. 144) राजन्यकन्, राजपुत्रकन्, वात्सकन्, मानुष्यकन्, अजकन् ॥ The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अण् is added (VI. 4. 150)

*Vdt.* :—Also after the word वृद्ध ; e. g. वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men'.

केदारघञ्च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ केदारत्, यञ् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ केदारघञ्चाद् यस्म्यस्यो भवति, चकाराद् घञ् च, तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गणिकायाञ्च यञ्चकञ्चः ॥

40. The affix यञ् as well as the affix घञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

This debars ङ्क् of IV. 2. 47. Thus केदारणाम् समूहः = कैशार्यम् or कैशारकम् ॥

*Vdt.* :—The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e. g. गाणिस्यञ् ॥

ठञ् कवचिनञ्च ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठञ् कवचिनः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कवचिनृषादठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

41. The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'Kedâra', and also after the word 'Kavachin'.

Thus कावचिकम् ( VI. 4. 144 ); and कैशारिकम्. We read the anuvṛtti of केदार in this Sôtra, by virtue of the word च

ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यन् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्राह्मण, माणव-वाडवात्-यन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्राह्मणादिभ्यः घञ्भ्यो यन्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यन्प्रकरणे पृष्टापसंख्यानम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ आहुः खः क्रतौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पर्भा णत्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ वातातूलः ॥

42. The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'brâhmana', 'mânava', and 'vâdava'.

The indicatovy न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI. 1. 197). Thus ब्राह्मण्यन्, माणव्यन्, वाडव्यन् ॥

*Vdt.* :—Also after the word पृष्ट e. g. पृष्टयः ॥

*Vdt.* :—The affix ख is added to आहुन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice'. e. g. आहीनः 'a collection of days of sacrifice'. Otherwise the form is आहुः by अञ् see IV. 2. 45.

*Vdt.* :—The affix णस् comes after पर्शु, e. g. पार्श्व्यन् 'a collection of axes'. The final इ of पर्शु is not changed by guṇa into ओ before the affix, because the word पर्शु is treated as a pada-word (I. 4. 16) and not a Bha-word.

*Vdt.* :—The affix तूल is added to वात e. g. वातूलः 'a collection of winds or a mad-man'.

ग्रामजनबन्धुसहायेभ्यस्तल् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम, जन-बन्धु-सहायेभ्यः-तल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामादिभ्यस्तल्प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गजाद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥



43, The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'grāma', 'jana', 'bandhu' and 'sahāya'.

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages'. The words ending in तत्त्व are all feminine. So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives', and सहायता 'a collection of allies'.

*Vdt:*—The affix 'tal' comes after गज also e. g. गजता 'a collection of elephants'.

अनुदात्तादेरञ् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तारिः सम्भारम् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

44. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudatta on the first syllable.

Thus कपोतानां समूहः = कापोतश्च, माहुरश्च, तैत्तिरिश्च ॥

खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ खण्डिकादिभ्यः च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खण्डिका इत्येवमादिभ्यः चण्डेभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Kārikā अमसिद्धिरनुदात्तारिः कोऽर्थः शुक्रकमालवात् ।

गोषाद्यञ् न च समोचं तदन्तान्न च सर्वतः ॥

ज्ञापकं त्याज्यदन्तत्वे तथा चापिपलेर्विधिः ।

सेनायां नियमार्यं च यथा बाध्येत चाम् शुभा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शुक्रकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञावात् ॥

45. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'Khandika &c.

This sūtra applies to words having anudatta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things. e. g. खण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

The word शुक्रकमालव is included in this list. It is a Dvandva compound of two words शुक्रक and मालव, denoting tribes of Kshatriyas. The Tadrāja affix अञ् (IV. 1. 168) is elided after the first, and अञ् (IV. 1. 171) after the second word which is a Vṛddham. When these two words form a compound, the acute falls on the final (VI. 1. 223), the initial of this compound is therefore, anudatta : and therefore by the last sūtra IV. 2. 44, this word would have taken अञ् ; where is the necessity of its being included in this list ? It is to exclude the वुञ् of IV. 2. 39 which comes after a Gotra word. But will not the subsequent अञ् (IV. 2. 44) debar the preceding वुञ् (IV. 2. 39) by the rule of paratva ? Moreover, a collection or aggregate of two Gotra words will not be called Gotra, as an aggregate of countries is not called a 'country' for the application of janapada rule, as काशिकोसलीयाः does not take वुञ् and there will not apply tadanta vidhi to the compound word शुक्रकमालव, which ends in a gotra word ? To this we reply, that the fact of the inclusion

of this word in the list, is an indication of the existence of these two rules : (1) that **डुम्** affix supersedes a *subsequent* affix in cases of conflict. Thus **अपिणव** and **कापटव** are anudāttādi words because formed by **अप्** (III. 1. 2), and require therefore **अम्** by IV. 2. 44, but **डुम्** supersedes it, and we have **अपिणव-कम्** and **कापटवकम्** ॥ The second rule is: (2) that in सामूहिक affixes there is tad-antavidhi in spite of the prohibition contained in vārtika under I. 1. 72. As **यानहस्तिकं, गौधेनुकम्** ॥ The complete sentence in the Gaṇapāṭha is **शुद्धकमालवात् सेनासंज्ञायाम्**, the first portion denotes the existence of the above two rules, the second portion **सेना** &c restricts the application of the rule. The affix is added when it is the name of a **सेना** 'army' and not otherwise. As **सौद्रक-मालवी सेना**, otherwise **सौद्रकमालवकम्** ॥ The existence of above corollaries is proved by the sūtra of the Grammarian Āpiśālī also **धेनुरनम्रि ढकमुत्पादयति** 'the affix **ढक्** comes after **धेनु** in denoting collection thereof, when not preceded by the negative particle **नष्ट**', therefore, when preceded by any other word, the affix will apply.

1 खण्डिक (खण्डिका K.), 2 वडवा, 3 शुद्धकमालवात्सेनासंज्ञायाम् (a Vārttika to 4, 2, 45), 4 मिश्रुक, 5 शुक्, 6 डलूक, 7 ध्वन्, 8 अहन, 9 युगवरण, (वरणा v. 1.; युग, वरणा K.), 10 हलबन्ध (बन्धा).

**चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरणेभ्यः धर्मवत् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ चरणशब्दाः कठकलापादयः, तेभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः समूहे धर्मवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥  
वास्तिकम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्माज्ञायोरिति ॥

46. After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof'.

The Vedic Schools or Charaṇas are like कठ, कलाप &c. The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sūtra IV. 3. 126 &c. The word धर्म does not occur in the Sūtra IV. 3. 126, or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishṭi* under that Sūtra :—चरणद्धर्माज्ञायोः ॥ Thus कठानां धर्म = काठकम्, so also कठानां समूहः = काठकम् ॥ Similarly कालापकम्, छान्दोग्यम्, औक्थियम्, and आयर्वणम् ॥

**अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्त-हस्ति-धेनोः-ढक् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अचित्तार्थेभ्यो हस्तिधेनुशब्दान्यां च ढक् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य समूह इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥  
वास्तिकम् ॥ धेनोरनम्र इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

47. The affix **ढक्** comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of things without consciousness, and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'.

This debars **अप्** and **अम्** ॥ The अपूपानां समूहः = आपूपिकम् ॥ The affix **ढक्** is replaced by **इक्** (VII. 3. 50) or **क** (VII. 3. 50). Thus हास्तिकम्, धेनुकम्, शाष्ट-कुलिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—Not so, if the word धेनु is preceded by the negative particle नम् ॥ As आधेनवम् ॥ (See IV. 2. 45).

केशाभ्याम् यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ केश-अभ्याम्यम्-यञ्-छौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ केश अभ्य इत्येताभ्यां यपासंख्ये यञ् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतो अन्यतरस्यां तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

48. The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अभ्य ॥

Thus केशानां समूहः = केशवम् or केशिकम् (IV. 2. 47), अभ्यानां समूहः = आभ्यम् (IV. 1. 63) अभ्यीवम् ॥

पाशादिभ्यो यः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाशादिभ्यः यः  
वृत्तिः ॥ पाशादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

49. The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, कृष्या &c. These words are feminine.

1 पाश, 2 कृष, 3 धून, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पादल (पादलका K.), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 मट (नड K.), 14 वन. also 15 बालक.

खलगोरथात् ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ खल-गो-रथात्-य ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथच्छेभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

50. The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'Khala', 'Go' and 'Ratha'.

Thus खल्या, गय्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that rule IV. 2. 51 should apply to them.

इनित्रकट्यच्च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इनि-त्र-कट्यच्चः, च ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ खलगोरथच्छेभ्यो यपासंख्ये इनि च कट्यश्च इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति तत्त्व समूह इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमलादिभ्यः खण्डश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नरकरितुरङ्गाणां स्कन्धश्च प्रत्ययः ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पूर्वादिभ्यः काण्डः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affixes 'ini', 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the senses of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'.

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा, रथकट्या ।

*Vart.*—The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c. Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुटुम्बिनी, ॥

*Vart.*—The affix लण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c. As कमल-लण्डम्, अम्भोजलण्डम् ॥ कमलः, अम्भोजः, पद्मिनी, कुमुदः, सरोजः, नलिनी, कैरवणी belong to this class. These are आकृतिगणः ॥

*Vart.*—The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि, and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्धः, करिस्कन्धः and तुरङ्गस्कन्धः ॥

*Vart.*—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c. Thus पूर्वकाण्डम्, तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

विषयो देशे ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषयः, देशे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूह इति निवृत्तम् । षष्ठीसमर्थविभक्तिरनुवर्तते । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थविषय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे व्याविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, योसौ विषयो देशेभ्यस्त्व भवति ॥

52. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere.

The anuvṛtiti of समूहः (IV. 2. 37) does not extend further: but the anuvṛtiti of तस्य (IV. 2. 37) is to be read into it. The whole sūtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country'. The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations. Sometime it means an estate, as विषयो लब्धः 'a village has been acquired'. Some time it means an object of perception, as चक्षु विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c'. Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sūtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

Thus सिबिनां विषयो देशः = देशः 'The country within the sphere of the Sibi'. So also भौट् &c. Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देशवृत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाकः ॥

राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विषयो देशइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

53. The affix वुञ् comes after the words rajanya &c, in the same sense.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देशः = राजन्यकः, देशायनकः ॥ It is an आकृतिगणः ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत\*, 3 बाभय\*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 हेवयात (हेवयातवः; हेवयान.), 6 अत्रीड, 7 वरदा\*, 8 जालंधरायण, 9 राजायन\*, 10 तेलु\*, 11 आल्लकामेव, 12 अम्बरीष-पुत्र, 13 वसाति, 14 बेल्वन. 15 शैल्य, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 सीङ्\*, 18 बेल्वज (बेल्वज) 19 भार्जुनायन, 20 संमिय, 21 शक्ति, 22 कर्णनाम. 23 आप्रीत, 24 वैतिल, 25 वाषक, ॥

भौरिक्याद्यैपुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भकलौ ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भौरिक्यादि, येषु-कार्यादिभ्यः, विधल्, भकलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भौरिक्यादिभ्यश्च देशकार्यादिभ्यश्च क्त्वासंख्यं विभत् मन्त् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतो, विभक्तौ देश इत्येतस्मिन्विभक्ते ॥

54. The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukari &c.' in the sense of 'sphere of country'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus भौरिक्यविभः, वैप्रेयविभः &c. देशकारिमन्तः, सारस्वत्यनमन्तः &c.

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चौपयत्\*, 4 चैदयत् (चौदयत्), 5 काजिभ्य, 6 बाणिज्यक, 7 बालिकाज्य (बाणिकाज्य; बालिज्, बालिज्यक), 8 चैकयत् (चैकयत्.), 9 वैकयत्. 10 वैप्रेय.

1 देशकारि, 2 सारस्वत्यायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 ब्रह्मासायण, 5 कपासायण (कपायण), 6 औडायण, 7 औलायण, 8 लाडायण, 9 हासमिभि, 10 हासमिबायण, 11 शौद्रावण (शौद्रायण), 12 हासायण, 13 सायण्डायन\*, 14 साक्ष्यायण, 15 शौभायण, 16 शौवीर, 17 शौवीरयण\*, 18 सायण्ड, 19 शौण्ड, 20 सायण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव, 23 नड (नर) 24 तुण्डदेव, 25 विम्बदेव (विषादेव and वैम्बदेव), 26 तापिण्डि. 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 मलायत, 30 औलायणव.

सोस्यादिरितिच्छन्दसः प्रगाथेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, अस्य, आदिः, इति-छन्दसः-प्रगाथेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्णरस्येति वृत्त्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्णे छन्दससप्तविंशतिरिति, यत्तदस्येति निर्दिष्टं प्रगाथान्वये भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसः प्रत्ययविधानेनपुंसके स्वार्ये उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragātha beginning therewith.

The words of this sūtra require a little explanation. सः 'that' i. e. a word in construction in the first case. अस्व 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning of the affix. आदिः 'beginning'; this qualifies the base or prakṛiti. The word इति is added for the sake of precision. छन्दसः 'after the name of a metre'. This points out the base. प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragātha'. This qualifies the meaning of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragātha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragātha beginning with that metre. Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पङ्क्तः which means "a Pragātha beginning with the metre Paṅkti". Similarly आनुशुनः, आगतः &c.

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragātha' the affix will not be employed. Why do we say 'after the

name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragātha. Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragātha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvāka &c and not of a Pragātha. Pragātha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn. यच्च हे ऋचौ प्रगयनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते, स प्रगायनात् पकर्षणानात् वा प्रगाय इत्युच्यते ॥

*Vart*:—The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self-descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it; and the word so formed is in the neuter gender. As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishṭubha', जागतम् &c.

संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृज्यः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संग्रामे, प्रयोजन, योद्धृज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयोजनवाचिभ्यो योद्धृवाचिभ्यश्च सम्बन्धः प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे संग्रामेऽभिधेये यया-  
विहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of a battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader.

The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here; showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case: and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजनः, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle'. Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix.

This मन्त्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = मन्त्रा: "A battle fought for Bhadrā". So also सौमन्त्रा: "a battle fought to gain Subhadrā". Similarly अहिमाला योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य = आहिमालः 'battle led by Ahimālā warriors' So also स्यान्मन्त्राभ्यः भारतः ॥

Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य 'Subhadrā is the object of this gift'. Here no affix is added. Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ।

तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्-अस्याम्, प्रहरणम्,  
इति-क्रीडायाम्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोऽस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति. यस्तदिति निर्दिष्टं प्रहरणं चेतद्वदिति,  
यदस्यामिति निर्दिष्टं क्रीडा चेत्सा भवति ॥

57. The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon.

The sūtra literally translated means: 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play; the affix ण is added' i. e. to a word in the first case in construction;

denoting the name of a weapon ; ञ is added to denote a play. Thus वृद्धः प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = वृद्धा "a game played with sticks". So मोहा "a game played with fists".

Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला मूषणमस्यां क्रीडायां 'the garland is an ornament in this play'. Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe:—सदृगः प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायां 'the sword is the weapon in this army'. These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV. 1. 4 and 15), the feminine being formed by ञा ॥

घञः सास्यां क्रियेति ञः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञः सा-अस्याम् क्रिया-इति-ञः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चमन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थात्स्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे ञः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix ञ, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ्, denotes an action occurring in that.

These words are also feminine. The meaning of the words of the aphorism is:—चमः "after a word ending in the affix चञ्"; सा 'that', मस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine. क्रिया "action"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. To put it in other words, the sūtra means, "After a word ending in चञ्, expressing an action, being in the 1st case in construction, the affix ञ is added in the sense of a 7th case-affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender".

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते — श्येनपाता, so also तैलपाता ॥ The nasal is added by VI. 3. 71. Thus श्येनपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey'. तैलपाता स्वधा "an oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown".

The repetition of सास्यां in this sūtra, though its anuvṛitti could have been obtained from the last sūtra, indicates that this is a general rule, and not one confined to "games" only. Thus वृद्धपातोऽस्यां तियोवर्तते = वृद्धपाता तियिः; मोहापाता तियिः ॥

तदधीते तद्वेद ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अधीते-तद्-वेद ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थरधीते वेद इत्येतयोरर्थं योर्यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word denoting 'some subject of study', in the sense of 'who has studied that or who understands that'.

In others words, the sūtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that. As छन्दोऽधीते = छान्सः 'who studies Prosody'. वेद्याकरणः (VII. 3. 3) 'who knows grammar'. So also नैरुक्तः, नैरिक्तः 'who knows the causes'. भोहृत्स्वः, भोत्स्वः ॥

The word तद् is repeated in this sūtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands.

**ऋतूक्यादिसूत्रान्तादठक् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतु-उक्यादि-सूत्रान्तात्-ठक् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतुविशेषत्वाच्चिभ्य उक्थादिभ्यश्च सूत्रान्ताच्च ठक्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यस्मिन्निषेदे ।  
अणोपवादः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रान्तादकल्पादेरिष्यते ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्तादिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विद्या च नाङ्गक्षत्रधर्मसंसर्गत्रिपूर्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यष्ट्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनुसुर्लक्ष्यलक्षणे च ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकन्परोत्तरपदान् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शतपथेऽपि कन् पथो बहुलम् ॥

60. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or one who understands', after the name of a sacrifice, after 'uktha &c', and after a stem ending with the word 'sūtra'.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आग्निष्टोमिकः 'who understands or studies Agnishtoma Sacrifice'. वाजपेयिकः, औक्यायिकः, लौकायतिकः, वार्त्तिकसात्रिकः, सामहसूत्रिकः ॥

*Ishti* :—If a word ending in 'sūtra', begins with the word 'Kalpa', the affix अण् is added and not ठक्. Thus : काल्पसूत्रः 'who studies Kalpa-sūtra'.

*Vārt* :—This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविद्यिकः, सार्वविद्यिकः, गौलक्षणिकः, आश्वलक्षणिकः, मातृकल्पिकः, पाराशरकल्पिकः ॥

*Vārt* :—Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र, धर्म, संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अंगविद्यामधीते = आङ्ग विद्यः, क्षात्रविद्यः, धर्मविद्यः, सांसर्गविद्यः, त्रैविद्यः ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

*Vārt* :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका), and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रीतिकः, प्रेयङ्गविकः, वासवदासिकः, सौमनोत्तरिकः, ऐतिहासिकः, पौराणिकः ॥

*Vārt* :—The affix ल comes in the same sense, after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds. As सर्ववेदः, सर्वतन्त्रः, स्वार्त्तिकः, ससंग्रहः, द्विवेदः पंचव्याकरणः ॥

*Vārt* :—The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after the words अनुसु, लभ्य, and लक्षण; As अनुसूनाममन्थ स्तमधीते = आनुसुकः, लाक्षिकः, लाक्षणिकः ॥

*Vārt* :—The affix इकम् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्; as, पूर्वपदिकः ॥

*Vārt* :—The affix पिकन् comes diversely in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and षाष्टिपथ. As शतपथिकः f. शतपथिकी IV. I. 41), षष्टिपथिकः (f. षष्टिपथिकी). By the force of the word 'diversely' we get the affix अण्, as शतपथः and षाष्टिपथः ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त, 8 त्रि-पदा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपदी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14 च-



चां, 15 क्रनेतर, 16 अक्षय, 17 संविता, 18 परक्रम (पर।क्रम) 19 संघट्ट संघात also संघट्ट 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिपर, 22 संघट्ट, 23 मज्ज, 24 गुण (गुणानुगम st. मज्ज, गुण), 25 आद्यवैर, 26 अनुगुण.

**क्रमादिभ्यो धुन् ॥ ६१ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रम इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो धुन्प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देशेऽस्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

61. The affix धुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus क्रमकः (VII. 1. 1) परकः &c. The words 1 क्रम, 2 पर, 3 विता, 4 मीमांसा, 5 सामन् belong to this class.

**अनुब्राह्मणादिनिः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनु, ब्राह्मणात् इनिः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुब्राह्मणशब्दादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देशेऽस्यस्मिन्निषये ॥

62. The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrāhmaṇa'.

This debars अच् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brāhmaṇa book'. He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined :—अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, अनुब्राह्मणिनः &c. The affix इनि also has the force of मनुष्य, and by Sūtra V. 2. 115 अथ इनि ङनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and ङन् in the sense of मनुष्य; but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense.

**वसन्तादिभ्यश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वसन्तादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्त इत्येवमादिभ्यश्च प्रत्ययो भवति तदधीते तद्देशेऽस्यस्मिन्निषये । मज्जोपवाहः ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'vasanta &c.'

This debars अच् ॥ As, वासन्तिकः 'who studies the book relating to Spring'. वार्षिकः &c ॥ 1 वसन्त, 2 वर्षा, 3 शरद्, 4 हेमन्त, 5 शिशिर, 6 मयम, 7 गुण, 8 चरम, 9 अनुगुण, 10 अपर्वन्, 11 अद्यर्वन् 12 धीज्,

**पोक्ताल्लुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रोक्ताल्लुक् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तादभ्येत्येवैवोक्तप्रत्ययान्ता लुग्भवति ॥

64. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting "who studies or who knows that" are elided by 'luk'.

This sūtra may be rendered in the following way also :—" There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer". The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV. 3. 101 &c. Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम् = पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Pāṇini'.

पाणिनीयमधीते = पाणिनीयः, so also आपिचलः ॥ The difference between the word पाणिनीयं meaning the system of Grammar, and पाणिनीयै formed with अच्, meaning whostudies that Grammar, would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine. As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी ॥ For had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sūtra, in forming the feminine, ङीच् would be required by IV.1.15, as the word would end in अच्; and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अच् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III. 1. 3). But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by णच्, the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix. (Phiṣ Su II. 19)

सूत्राच्च कोपधात् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूत्रात्-च-कोपधात्-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूत्रवाचिनः ककारोपधात्पुनस्तस्य प्रत्ययस्य हुन्भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संख्याप्रकृतोपेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

65. The affix denoting "who studies that or who knows that" is elided by luk, after the title of a sūtra work, having क् as penultimate.

Thus अष्टकं is the title of Pāṇini sūtra. Those who study अष्टकं will be called also अष्टकः, as अष्टकाः पाणिनीयाः 'those who study, the Aṣṭaka'. So also इष्टका वेद्याप्रपरीयाः, चिकाः काशकृत्स्नाः ॥

*Vartt:*—The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a numeral: as in the examples above given. Thus महावार्तिकं सूत्रमधीते = महावार्तिकः, so also कालापकः ॥

Why do we say 'having क् for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चतुष्टयः ॥ This sūtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting श्लोक or the Announcer.

छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दो-ब्राह्मणानि-च-तत्-विषयाणि-(श्लोकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लोकग्रहणमनुवर्तते । छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च श्लोकप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाण्येव भवन्ति ॥

66. The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brāhmaṇas, express this relation only.

The word श्लोक is to be read into this sūtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV. 3. 101), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brāhmaṇa, is that of expressing "one who studies" or "one who knows". तद्विषयाणि means "this relation", i. e. the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अभ्येतृ or वेदितृ ॥ In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer', have the force of "one who studies or one who knows" when added to Veda-Text or Brāhmaṇas. That is, a श्लोक affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, except when an अभ्येतृ or

वेदित् affix follows it, and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV. 2. 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brāhmaṇa, means "he who studies or knows the Veda announced by". In fact there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it.

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठन् meaning 'those who study or know Kāṭha Veda'. The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिन् denoting announcer, by IV. 3. 104: then we elide it by IV. 3. 107, leaving the bare word कठ, then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV. 2. 64. कठ+णिनि = कठ+० (IV. 3. 107); कठ+अण् = कठ (IV. 2. 64) Plural कठाः "those who study the Veda announced by Kāṭha".

Other examples to illustrate this sūtra are: मूढाः (IV. 3. 101) 'who study the Veda announced by Mūḍa'. पिप्पलादः, भार्वाकिनः (IV. 3. 104) वाजसनेयिनः (IV. 3. 106) "who study the Veda announced by Pippalāda, Richāva, or Vājasaneyā". Similarly with words denoting a Brāhmaṇa-Text. Thus: ताण्डिनः (IV. 3. 104), भास्वकिनः (IV. 3. 105), शाव्यायनिनः (IV. 3. 105) ऐतरेयिनः (IV. 3. 105) "who study the Brāhmaṇas announced by Tāṇḍya, Bhallava, Śātyāyana, or Aitareya".

Why is the word Brāhmaṇa which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sūtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brāhmaṇa-Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all. Thus it will not apply to the Brāhmaṇa announced by Yājñyavalkya. Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि = याज्ञवल्क्यानि ॥ Similarly सौलमानि ॥ These Brāhmaṇas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them, See IV. 3. 105.

The word च meaning "and" is employed in the sūtra. It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sūtra. Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sūtra Texts also. Thus काश्यपिनः, कौशिकिनः "who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kāśyapa or Kuśika" so also sūtra: as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः "the Bhikshus who study the Sūtras promulgated by Parasara". शैलालिनो नराः कर्मन्दिनः, कृशद्विनः &c.

Why do we say "Chhandas and Brāhmaṇas"? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its own significance, pure and simple; as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम् ॥ पैत्रीकल्पः ॥

#### *The Quadruply-significant affixes.*

तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नास्ति ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मिन्-अस्ति-इति-देशे-तत्-नास्ति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थार्थस्मिन्निति सप्तम्यर्थे यथानिहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थमस्ति चेत्तद्वति, यदस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टं देशेभ्यस्तन्नामा भवति ॥

67. (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of—"that thing is in this"—the place taking a name therefrom.

The words of this aphorism require a detailed examination. तद् 'that', i. e. the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case. अस्मिन् "in this"—this gives the meaning of the affix; अस्ति "is" this qualifies the sense of the base. इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing. देशे तन्नान्नि "a country having that name"; this qualifies the sense of the affix. The sense is:—"the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists".

This sūtra and the three subsequent sūtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience. The affixes having the sense of these four sūtras, are called चतुर्थिक "quadruple significant".

Thus उडुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औडुम्बरः Audumbara--the country in which there are glomerous fig trees. Similarly बालूबजः, पार्वतः &c. all these words are formed by the universal affix अण् (IV. 1. 83).

This sūtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes.

तेन निर्वृत्तम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-निर्वृत्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासर्यान्निर्वृत्तमित्यस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him', when the whole word so formed is the name of a country.

The phrase देशे तन्नान्नि of the last sūtra governs this and the two subsequent sūtras. By these four sūtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives. Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी "the city of Kauśāmbī, completed by Kuśāmba". Similarly साहस्री परिष्ठा "a mote completed by a thousand (gold coins) or persons". A place is named after the means or the person, by which or through whom it is established.

तस्य निवासः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति पञ्चीसमर्यान्निवास इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति देशनामधेये गम्यमाने ॥

69. After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place'; the whole word expressing the name of a country.

The sūtra literally means "his dwelling place". A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus तैवः "the country of

the Sibi", श्रीरिहः ॥ कृशुनावाग्निवासी रेखः = भार्गुनावः ॥ The word कृशुनावा = कृश्वी-  
नौर्येवां ॥

अदूरभवश्च ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अदूरभवः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वा समर्थ विभक्तिमुवर्तत । तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थारदूरभव इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे व्यापिहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it.

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown. The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sūtra. It means, therefore, "an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off" the whole word being the name of a place. Thus विदिषाया अदूर भव = वेदिषाय is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidiśā flows. So also हैमवतम् ॥

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this; so that the four sūtras 67, 68, 69 and 70 form but one complete sūtra, and the meaning denoted by these will be understood in the subsequent aphorisms.

ओरस् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपरान्ताव्यातिपरिकाषयाविहितं समर्थविभक्तियुक्तादम् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्मिन्स्त्रीत्वेषमाहि-  
त्यर्थेण । अणोपवादः ॥

71. The affix अम् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above).

This of course debars the universal affix अम् (IV. 1. 83). Thus भारवत् from भरतु 'a tribe of Kshatriyas'; काशतवत् from कशतु, and कार्कटेलवत् from कर्क-  
टेल ॥ But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumatt, named after the sugar-  
canes near it'. Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sūtra IV. 2. 85, which debars अम् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I. 4. 2). The affix अम् governs the six sūtras upto IV. 2. 77. The difference between अम् and अम् consists in the accent.

मतोश्च बहुजङ्गात् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतोः-च-बहुच्-अङ्गात्-(अम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुज अङ्गं यस्यासौ बहुजङ्गो मतुप् तदन्ताव्यातिपरिकाषम्प्रत्ययो भवति चतुर्थिकः । अणो-  
पवादः ॥

72. The affix अम् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic.

The word बहुजङ्ग is a compound of बहुच् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्गः meaning stem. A word which, exclusive

of the affix **न्तुश्**, consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix **अम्** ॥ This debars **अम्** ॥ Thus **देपुकावतश्**, **सेधुकावतश्** ॥

Why do we say "after a polysyllabic stem"? Observe **आहिमर्तश्** **यावमर्तश्** ॥ Here though the word **आहिमर्** ends in the affix **न्तुश्**, yet the **अङ्** or the stem viz. **अहि**, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take **अम्** in forming names of countries. In fact, the word **बह्वश्** qualifies the word **अङ्**, as it stands without the affix **न्तुश्**, and not the word inclusive of that affix. Therefore **मालावतां निवासः = मालावर्तश्** by **अम्** ॥

**बहुचः कूपेषु ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-कूपेषु-(अञ्)** ॥

**वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचः प्रातिपदिकादम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यिकः कूपेष्वभिधेयः ॥**

73. The affix **अञ्** comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated.

This debars **अम्**. Thus **दीर्घवरणेन निर्वृत्तः कूपः = दीर्घवरणः** "a well completed by Dīrghavaratra". So also **कापिलवरणः** ॥

**उदक् च विपाशः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदक्-च-विपाशः-(अञ्)** ॥

**वृत्तिः ॥ विपाश उत्तरे कूले ये कूपात्तेष्वभिधेयेष्वम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यिकः ॥**

74. The affix **अञ्** comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipāśā.

This debars **अम्**; and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not. Thus **होतः** "a well completed by Datta", **गौतः** &c.

Why do we say on the "northern bank"? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipāśā, then the affix **अम्** will apply as **होतः** and **गौतः**, the difference being in the accent. This sūtra illustrates the refined distinctions drawn by the author, and the importance attached to accents in former times.

**संकलादिभ्यश्च ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ संकलादिभ्यः-च-(अञ्)** ॥

**वृत्तिः ॥ संकल इत्येवमात्मनो ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति चातुर्यिकः । अणोपवाहः ॥**

75. The affix **अञ्** comes after the words **sankala** &c, in the above four-fold sense.

This debars **अम्** ॥ The word **संकलः** is equivalent to **संगतः कलः** ॥ Thus **सौकलः**, **पौष्कलः** &c.

1 संकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उचान\*, 4 उदुप, 5 उद्वेप (उद्वप), 6 उत्पुद, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुवस, 10 सुदच, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपूत\*, 13 सुनेच, 14 सुमङ्गल\*, 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सूत\*, 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका; पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 51 पलास, 22 निवेस, 23 गवेस,

24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आम्, 27 अहम्, 28 लोमम्, 29 वेमम्, 30 वरुण (वरण), 31 बहल, 32 स-  
द्योज, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोहम्, 35 एजम्, 36 मल्ल, 37 मल्ल, 38 मात. also 39 सर्वम्,  
40 हृद्, 41 भूत.

स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राधु ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रीषु-सौवीर-शाल्व-प्राधु-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्वाप्पातिपरिकारम् प्रत्यये भवति आनुपयिकः सौवीरे स्त्रीलिङ्गे हेतुे शाल्वे साल्वे प्राधि ॥

76. So also when the place is situate in the lands of the Sauvīra, or Sālva or of the Eastern people; and the word in these cases is always feminine.

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of हेतोःतन्नाम्नि (IV. 2. 67): so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus शाल्वानिषी "the city founded by Dattāmltra" (in Sauvīra). So also वैष्णमात्री (in Sālva) काकन्दी, नाकन्दी, माणिचरी, आरुषी (in Eastern countries).

सुवास्त्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुवास्त्वादिभ्यः (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुवास्तु इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्यये भवति आनुपयिकः ॥

77. The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense.

This debars the affix अण् which would have otherwise come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus सुवास्तोरसूरमर्षे नगरं=सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvṛitti came from IV. 1. 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sūtra debars sūtra IV. 2. 85. Thus सौवास्तवी नरी ॥

1 सुवास्तु, 2 वर्णु, 3 अण्डु, 4 खण्डु (कण्डु), 5 सेवानिन् (सेवानिन्), 6 कर्णुन्, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 गर्तं, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शकटीकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण), 12 कर्क, 13 ककन्धुमती (कर्कन्धु), 14 गोह (गोह्य and गारि), 15 महिसव्य 16 भूत ॥

रोणी ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोणी-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोणीशब्दादण्प्रत्ययो भवति आनुपयिकः ॥

78. The affix अण् comes after राणे in the fourfold sense.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 74. This sūtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case. As a general rule all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in these sūtras. The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under all circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound. In fact, the nominative case in this sūtra is a very ingenious explanatory artificiality. Thus रोणः, आजकरोणः or वैहिकरोणः

कोपधाञ्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोपधात्-ञ्च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककापेपधाञ्च प्रातिपरिकारम् प्रत्ययो भवति आनुपयिकः ॥

79. The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अम् which would have come by IV. 2. 71 and 73. Thus कार्णच्छिद्रिकः कूपः ॥ कार्णवेष्टकः ॥ कार्कवाकवम्, वैशङ्कवम् ॥

बुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरदञ्णययफक्फिभिञ्ज्यककठको ऽरीहणकुशाभ्वश्यकुमुद-  
काशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसङ्काशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्यः ॥ ८० ॥  
पदानि ॥ बुञ्-छण्-क-ठञ्-इल्-श-इनि-र-ठञ्-ण्य-य-फक्-फिप्-इञ्-ज्य-कक-ठकोऽ-  
रीहण-कुशाभ्व-ऋश्य-कुमुद-काश-तृण-प्रेक्ष-अश्म-सखि-सङ्काश-बल-पक्ष- कर्ण- सुत  
ङ्गम-प्रागदिन्-वराह-कुमुदादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुम्भावः समवद्य प्रत्यया, अरीहणादयोऽपि समवद्येव प्रातिपदिकगणाः । आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकमानि  
संबध्यते । तत्र यथासख्यं समवद्यभ्यः प्रातिपदिकगणेभ्यः समवद्य प्रत्यया भवन्ति चानुर्यिकाः ॥ यथाः—

- (1) अरीहणादिभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (2) कुशाभ्वादिभ्यश्छण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (3) ऋश्यादिभ्यः कः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (4) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (5) काद्यादिभ्य इल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (6) तृणादिभ्यः णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (7) प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (8) अश्मादिभ्यो र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (9) सख्यादिभ्यो ङम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (10) संकाद्यादिभ्यो ण्य प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (11) बलादिभ्यो यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (12) पक्षादिभ्यः फक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (13) कर्णादिभ्यः फिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (14) सुतङ्गादिभ्य इम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (15) प्रगदिन्नादिभ्यो ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (16) वराहदिभ्यः कक प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ (17) कुमुदादिभ्यश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively :—

1. बुञ् (= भक्) after अरीहण &c. 2. छण् (= ईय) after कुशाभ् &c. 3. क after ऋश्य &c. 4. ङच् (= ईर्क) after कुमुद &c. 5. इल् after काश &c. 6. स (or ण) after तृण &c. 7. इनि (= इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c. 8. र after अश्मन् &c. 9. ङम् (= एय) after सखि &c. 10. ण्य (= य) after संकाश &c. 11. य after बल &c. 12. फक् (= भायर्न) after पक्ष &c. 13. फिप् (= भायनि), after कर्ण &c. 14. इम् (इ) after सुतङ्गम &c. 15. ज्य (य) after प्रगदिन् &c. 16. कक् (कै) after वराह &c. 17. चक् (ईकै) after कुमुद &c.

The above affixes बुम् &c. are applied to the above classes of words, आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words. The first part of the sūtra upto चक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word-class. The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I. 3. 10.

The examples of the above are :—

- (1) अरीहणकम्, द्वीपणकम् (2) कार्णाधीकः, आरुहीयः, (3) ऋश्यकैः, न्यमोषकैः, (4) कुमुदिकैः, चक्करिकैः, (5) वारिषैः, कारिषैः, (6) तृणसैः, नडसैः, (7) प्रेक्षिनः, हलकिनः, (8) अश्मरैः, (9) सखियम्, सखिदस्तेयम्, 10 साकाभ्यम्, काम्पित्यम्, (11) बल्यैः, कल्यैः, (12) पाशायणैः, तोषायणैः, (13) कार्णायनिः, सखिद्वयनिः, (14) सुतङ्गिनिः, भौतिनिष्ठिः, (15) प्राण्य (16) वराहकैः, पालाशकैः, and (17) lastly कौमुदिकैः ॥



The word चिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes viz अरीहणारि, (36), कुमुशारि (14), and वराहारि (3). Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali. And because it occurs in the वरणारि class (IV. 2. 82), therefore this universal अण् (IV. 1. 83) will be elided after it. As we have already shown before under I. 2. 51 when चिरीषवन् was formed from चिरीषाः ॥

1 अरीहण, 2 कुपण, 3 हुहण\*, 4 भगल, 5 डलन्, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रोष्टायण, 9 औष्टायण\*, 10 वेगर्तायन, 11 भेवायण, 12 भाज्यायण, 13 वेमतायन (also वेमस्तायन), 14 गोमतायन (गो), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन, 17 धीमतायन\*, 18 सौमायन\*. 19 ऐन्हायण\*, 20 कौन्हायण\*, 21 खाडायन, 22 छाण्डिस्त्यायन, 23 रायस्तोष, 24 विषय, 25 विषाद्य, 26 डण्ड, 27 डण्डवन, 28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काण्डकुल (काण्ड), 31 जाण्डवत (वन्त), 32 चिद्यपा, 33 रैवत (रैवत), 34 बिस्व (वेस्व K.) 35 सुवज्ञ, 36 चिरीष, 37 बधिर, 38 जम्बु, 39 खरि, 40 सुधर्मन् (सुधर्म K.), 41 हलतृ\*, 42 भलन्\*, 43 खण्डु\*, 44 कनल\* (कलन), 45 वज्रवल्\*, 46 सार, 47 वेगर्तायण (aic) and 48 खाण्डायन.

1 कृषाण, 2 भरिड, 3 भरिधन (अरीध), 4 वेधमन्, 5 विद्याल, 6 लोमघ\*, 7 रोमघ\*, 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक\*, 10 घबल, 11 कूड, 12 बर्षल\*, 13 सुर्वचल\*, 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रातर), 17 सह्य, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराण\*, 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 अजिन, 23 विनस (विनसा, वनिता), 24 अवनस, 25 विकुम्भास (v. 1. कुविद्यास; विकुपास), 26 पराधर\*, 27 अरुन्, 28 अवस्\*, 29 मौल्ल्य, 30 दूकर\* (मौल्ल्याकर). 31 रोमन्, 32 बर्बर, 33 अवयास and अबावस्

1 कड्य, 2 न्यमोध, 3 घर (घिरा), 4 निलीन, 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 मिधान, 8 निबन्ध (v. 1. निबन्धन; निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगृह, 11 उपगृह, 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 नत\*, 15 वेधमन्\*, 16 उत्तरादमन्, 17 अदमन्\*, 18 स्थूल, 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु), 20 खरि, 21 चर्करा, 22 अनदुह, 23 अरुन्\*, 24 परिवंघ, 25 वेजु, 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 वण्ड\*, 29 परिवृच, 30 कर्म, 31 अंशु.

1 कुमुव, 2 चर्करा, 3 न्यमोध, 4 इकट (इल्कट, डल्कट), 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज, 9 परिवार, 10 निर्यास\*, 11 शकट\*, 12 कष\*, 13 मधु\*, 14 चिरीष, 15 अथ\*, 16 अथरथ, 17 बल्बज, 18 यवाष, 19 कूप, 20 विकङ्कत, 21 वृषमान. 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 चिक, 25 कल.

1 काश, 2 पाद्य (वाद्य), 3 अथरथ, 4 पलाश, 5 पीयूषा (पीयूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन, 10 कर्म, 11 कण्डूल\*, 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 विस (विद्य and विस), 15 वृण, 16 कर्ष, 17 बर्बर\*, 18 मधुर\*, 19 मह (गुह) 20 कपित्थ\*, 21 अतु, 22 वीपालः. 23 नर, 24 कंटक.

1 वृण, 2 नड, 3 मूल\*, 4 वन, 5 पर्ज, 6 वर्ज, 7 वराण\*, 8 बिल\*, 9 पुल\*, 10 कल\*, 11 अर्जन्\*, 12 अर्ज, 13 सुवर्ज\*, 14 बल, 15 चरण, 16 वृत्त. 17 जन, 18 लघ.

1 प्रेशका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका. 4 ध्रुवका, 5 क्षिपका 6 न्यमोध, 7 इकट (इर्कट) 8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 संकट, 10 कट\*, 11 कूप\*, 12 बुक\*, 13 पुक\*, 14 पुट\*, 15 मह (महा), 16 परिवार\*, 17 यवाष\* (d.i. यवास), 18 ध्रुवका\*, 19 गतं\*, 20 कूपक (कूपका) 21 हिरण्य\*. 22 बुधका, 23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 बुक.

1 अदमन्, 2 स्थ (also शुष), 3 कष (कष and कष), 4 मीन, 5 नर, 6 वर्म, 7 वृन्, 8 गृह\*, 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा, 12 कोट (काट), 13 पाम (पांन!), 14 कन्\*, 15 कान्\*, 17 गङ्ग\*, 18 गृह\*, 19 कूण्डल\*, 20 पीन\*. 21 मह\*.

1 सखि, 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त, 4 ससिदत्त, 5 गोपिल (गोहिह and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल  
7 प. ल (भल्लपाल st. भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक\*, 10 छगल, 11 भद्योक, 12 करवीर,  
13 वासव\*, 14 वीर\*, 15 पूर\*, 16 वज्र\*, 17 कुशीरक\*, 18 सोहर (घोहर; सोकर), 19 सरक (सकर),  
20 सरस, 21 समर\*, 22 समल, 23 सुरस, 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल,  
29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

1 संकाश, 2 कम्पिल, 3 कम्भीर (कम्भर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरक\*, 7 सूर\*, 8  
सुपान्यन् (rightly सुपायिन्), पन्थ (सक्य!) च, 9 दृष (दृष्ट), 10 अंघ, 11 अङ्ग\*, 12 नासा\*, 13  
पलित\*, 14 अनूनाश\*, 15 अम्भन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दृष्ट\*, 19 कुम्भ\*, 20 क्षीरे\*, 21 विरत  
(चिरन्त; विरत!), 22 समल\*, 23 सीर\*, 24 पञ्जर\*, 25 मन्थ\*, 26 नल\*, 27 रोमन\*, 28 लोमन्\*,  
29 पुलिन\*, 30 सुपरि\*, 31 कटिप\*, 32 सकर्णक\*, 33 वृष्टि\*, 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर\*,  
37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40 विरह,

1 बल, 2 पुल (बुल), 3 मल\*, 4 दल\*, 5 बट\*, 6 लकुल\*, 7 डरल\*, 8 पुल\*, 9 मूल\*,  
10 डल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल, 15 कवल,

1 पश, 2 तुष\*, 3 तुष, 4 कुण्ड\*, 5 अण्ड, 6 कम्बालिका (कम्बार्निक), 7 वलिक\*, 8 चिच  
9 अस्ति\*, 10 पयिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल  
(सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिद्वन् (स्वन्), 18 रोमन्, 19 लोमन्, 20 हस्तिन्\*, 21 मकर\*,  
22 लोमक, 23 क्षीरे\*, 24 निवात\*, 25 पाक\*, 26 सिंहक, 27 अकुष\*, 28 सुवर्णक, 29 हंसक  
(हंसका), 30 हंसक\*, 31 कुत्स\*, 32 बिल\*, 33 खिल\*, 34 यमल, 35 हस्त, 36 कला\*, 37 सकर्णक  
(सकण्डक), 38 अदमन्, 39 अस्तिबल ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 वसिष्ठ, 3 अर्क, 4 अर्कलूष (लूष), 5 द्रुपद (द्रुपर), 6 आनदुष्ट (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्य,  
8 स्किञ्ज, 9 कुम्भी\*, 10 कुन्ती\*, 11 जित्स्व (जित्स्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिश, 14 आण्डी-  
वत (आण्डीवन्), 15 ज्व\*, 16 जैव\*, 17 आनक\*, 18 अलुश, 19 शल, 20 स्थिर ॥

1 सुतगम, 2 मुनिचित (चित्), 3 विप्रचित (चित्), 4 महाचित्\*, 5 महापुत्र, 6 स्वन\*,  
7 भवेत्, 8 खडिक (गडिक) 9 शुक्र, 10 विम, 11 बीजवापिन्, 12 अर्जुन, 13 हवन्, 14 अजिर,  
15 जीव, 16 खण्डिन\*, 17 कर्ण\*, 18 विमह\*,

1 मगदिन्, 2 मगदिन्, 3 महदिन् (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खडिव),  
6 गदित (गदिव), 7 चूडार, 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्सार\*, 10 कोविदार ॥

1 वराह, 2 पलाश, 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनङ्ग, 5 निबङ्ग, 6 बलाह\*, 7 स्थूल (स्थूल), 8 विदग्ध,  
9 विजग्ध, 10 विभग्न्, 11 निमग्न्\*, 12 बाहु, 13 खरि, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनङ्ग, 16 विरुङ्ग, 17 मूल ॥

1 कुमुद, 2 गोमय, 3 रथकार, 4 दृष्टाम, 5 अम्भरथ, 6 घालमलि (ली), 7 शिरीष, 8 मुनि-  
स्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल, 10 कूट, 11 मधुकर्ण, 12 पासकुन्द्\*, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 मुचुकर्ण, 15 कुन्द् ॥

जनपदे लुप् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपदे लुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेद्ये तन्नाम्रीति यश्चातुर्थिकः प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य हेद्यविशेषे जनपदेऽभिधेये लुप्भवति ॥

81. The name of a kingdom is formed by the  
lup elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people  
without the change of number and gender, is at the same time  
the name of the kingdom).

The words within bracket in the above sūtra are added by the read-  
ing together of this sūtra with sūtra I. 2. 51. Dr. Otto Böhtlingk the learned

translator of Pāṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sūtra. 'The aphorism literally means : (The quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* ( देश ) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद). Thus वृक्षालानां निवासो जनपदः = वृक्षालः । So also कुरवः, मत्स्याः, भङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्याः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup-elision of the affix in the following examples : औवृक्षरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees'. वैदिषो जनपदः &c ? Because here the words औवृक्षरः and वैदिषः are not *names* of Kingdom, but are used merely as epithets. In fact the phrase सन्नाम्नि is understood here also.

वरणादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णादिभ्यश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वरण इत्येवमादिभ्य उत्पन्नस्य चातुरार्थकस्य प्रत्ययस्य लुप् भवति ॥

82. Also after the word वरण &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed.

After the words वरण the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप् ॥ The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a kingdom (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies. Thus वरणानामदूरमधे नगरं = वरणाः "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanā", So also वृक्षी, शात्मलः ॥

The word च in the sūtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकवदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree".

1 वरणा, (वरण), 2 वृक्षी, 3 शात्मलि, 4 पुण्ड्री\*, 5 वृक्षपुण्ड्री\*, 6 वर्णी, 7 ताम्रवर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वो गोदो, पूर्वेषु गोदौ, अपरेण गोदौ), 9 आलिङ्गघायन, 10 जानपदी (आलपदी; आलपद) 11 अम्बू\*, 12 पुण्ड्र\*, 13 चम्पा\*, 14 पम्पा\*, 15 बल्यु\*, 16 उज्जयिनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया, 18 मथुरा, 19 तक्षशिला, 20 उरसा (उरसा) 21 गोमती\*, 22 बलभी\*, 23 कटुकवदरी (with कन्वुक), 24 शिरीषाः 25 काञ्ची, 26 सहायडी, 27 वणिकि, 28 वणिक, Is an आकृत्येगण ॥

शर्कराया वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शर्करायाः-वा (लुप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्करायाश्चातुरार्थकस्य प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति ॥

83. Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided.

Why do we say "Optionally"? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुटु-शादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV.2.80 classes 4 and 16), and must necessarily take the affixes डच् and कक् taught therein: for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes. The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अच्, besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality

And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1. 83), there the option is allowed, not otherwise. Thus शर्करा + मन् = शर्कराम्, शर्करा + मन् तुप् = शर्करा ॥

ठक्छौ च ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शर्कराशब्दादठक् छ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवत आतुर्यकौ ॥

84. The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense.

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely two formed by this sūtra, two by the last, and two by the sūtra IV. 2. 80. Thus शर्करा, शर्कराम्, शर्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by कक्), शर्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), and शर्करियम् (by छ).

नद्यां मनुप् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ नद्याम्-मनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नद्यामभिधेयायां मनुप्प्रत्यये भवति आतुर्यकः ॥

85. The affix मनुप् is added in denoting a river.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मनुप् (मन् and न्). Thus दुग्धरावती, मद्यकावती, शीरणवती, पुष्करवती, हनुमती, हुमती ॥ See VI. 3. 119 by which the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI. 1. 219 by which the udatta is placed on this vowel. See VIII. 2. 10 by which मन् becomes न् ॥

The affix मनुप् is not however employed in forming the river-names भागीरथी and भैरवरी, which are formed by मन् added under IV. 2. 68.

मध्वादिभ्यश्च ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्वादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधु इत्येवमादिभ्यः चण्डेभ्यो मनुप्प्रत्ययो भवति आतुर्यकः ॥

86. The affix मनुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above.

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not a river. As अधुमान्, विस्रान् &c.

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्थापु, 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 चानी, 7 करीर ( किरिीर ) 8 हिन, 9 किचरा, 10 शर्करा ( शर्करा ) 11 मरुत, 12 चार्कली, 13 चार, 14 इटका, 15 आसुति, 16 चक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 चकन, 19 चालका, 20 आनिधी ( आनिधी ) 21 हनु, 22 योगन्, 23 रुटि ( मुटि हटि ) 24 रुच्य 25 लक्ष्मिन्, 26 खड ( खडा ) 27 वट, 28 वेद ( वेदा ) 29 रम्य, 30 कृष्ण, 38 मरु, 32 शर्वाचाद.

कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो इमनुप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमुद-नड-वेतसेभ्यः-इमनुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमुद नड वेतस इत्येतेभ्यः चण्डेभ्यो इमनुप् प्रत्ययो भवति आतुर्यकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ महिषाचोति वक्तव्यम् ॥

87. The affix इमनुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस, in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix.

Thus कुमुदान्, नडान्, वेतस्वान् ॥

Vart.—So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

नडशादाद् डुलच् ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नड-शादात्-डुलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नडशादृशादात् डुलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चानुरार्थिकः ॥

88. The affix डुलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided.

Thus नडुलम् and शादुलम् ॥

शिखायां चलच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिखाया-चलच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिखायादृशादृलच् प्रत्ययो भवति चानुरार्थिकः । यथासंभवाभ्यसंयन्धः ॥

89. The affix चलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses.

Thus शिखायलम् 'the city Sikhā-vala' lit. 'crested as a peacock'. The word शिखा takes लच् by V. 2. 111, the affix having the same force as ननु V. 2. 94, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is'). That लच् should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V.

उत्करादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्करादिभ्यः-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्कर इत्येवमादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति चानुरार्थिकः ॥

90. The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses:

As उत्करीयम्, शार्ङ्गीयम् ॥

1 उत्कर, 2 संकल, 3 शरकर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल, 6 अश्वमेध, 7 सुवर्ण ( सुवर्ण ) 8 श्वलाङ्गि-  
न, 9 तिक, 10 कितव, 11 अणक\*, 12 वैवण\*, 13 पिचुक, 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश, 16 शुङ्ग ( शार्ङ्गशुङ्ग  
at. काश, शुङ्ग ) 17 भस्त्रा, 18 घाल, 19 जन्त्रा, 20 अजिर ( अजिन ) 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रीषा, 23 शान्त  
( शान्त ) 24 शरिर, 25 शूर्पणाव, 26 दयावनाय, 27 नैवाकव ( नैव, बक ) 28 तृण\*, 29 वृक्ष\*  
30 शाक\*, 31 पलाश, 32 विजिगीषा\*, 33 अनेक, 34 आतप, 35 कल\*, 36 सं-  
पर\*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक\*, 41 इडा, 42 अरण्य, 43 निद्यान्त\*, 44 पर्ष, 45 नीचा-  
यक\*, 46 शंकर, 47 अवरोहित, 48 भार\*, 49 विशाल, 50 वेच, 51 अरीहण\*, 52 खण्ड, 53 दातागद  
54 मन्त्रवृक्ष\*, 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, ( नितान्तवृक्ष; नितान्त, वृक्ष ) 57 भार्गवृक्ष. 58 तृणव, 59  
शान्य, 60 मञ्ज, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष,

नडादीनां कुक् च ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नडादीनाम्, कुक्-च (छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नड इत्येवमादीनां कुगागमो भवति, छश्च प्रत्ययश्चानुरार्थिकः । यथासंभवाभ्यसंयन्धः ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ कूष्माया ह्रस्वत्वच । तक्षान्तलोपश्च ॥

91. The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c, when the affix छ follows in the above four senses.

To the words नड &c. the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem. As नड + कुक् + छ = नडकीयम्; दृशकीयम्, &c.

The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न् is elided : e. g. कृञ्चकीयम्, तक्षकीयम् ॥

1 नड, 2 दृश, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेच, 6 वतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तृण, 11 कुञ्चा ( कुञ्चाया ) इत्यस्त्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपच.

शेषे ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेष इत्यधिकारोऽयम् । यानि त ऊर्ध्वे प्रत्ययाननुक्रमिष्यामः, शेषेऽर्थे ते वेदितव्याः ॥

92. The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above.

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms. "Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV. 1 92) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification', the last, be called शेष or the remainder"—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अन् &c. Thus चाक्षुर् 'visible' viz. colour which is apprehended by vision' from चाक्षुः श्रावणः 'audible' viz. sound, from श्रावण, औपनिषद्: 'treated of in Upanishad' i. e. soul, हार्यद्: from हृषद्, 'ground on a stone' i. e. flour of a fried corn, चतुर् 'ridden in by four person' viz. a cart; चतुर्दश 'who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon' viz. a goblin; औदुत्यः 'pounded in a mortar' viz. barley: आश्वः 'drawn by horses' viz. a chariot. (Adapted from Dr. Ballantyne's Laghukaumudi).

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे "in the remainder" extends from this aphorism forward as far as IV. 3. 134. The affixes छ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of 'progeny' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात 'being born' (IV. 3. 25), प्रोक्तः (IV. 3. 101), अगतः (IV. 3. 74) &c. निवासः (IV. 3. 89), &c कृतः &c (IV. 3. 38).

Thus सौघः means "born in Srughna (IV. 3. 25), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srughna, or skillful in Srughna (IV. 3. 38), or abundant in Srughna (IV. 3. 39), or suited to Srughna (IV. 3. 41), or staying in Srughna (IV. 3. 53), or what has come from Srughna (IV. 3. 74) or which has its rise in Srughna (IV. 3. 83), a road leading to Srughna (IV. 3. 85) a messenger going to Srughna (IV. 3. 85), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV. 3. 86) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV. 3. 87), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV. 3. 89), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV. 3. 90)."

राष्ट्रावारपाराद् घञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ राष्ट्र-अवारपारात्-घ-ञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राष्ट्र-अवारपार इत्येताभ्यां यथासंख्यं घञानि खेनां प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विपरीतावपीष्वदे ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ विपरीताम् ॥

93. The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इव is substituted for व, and ईन for ख (VII. 1. 2). Thus राष्ट्रः 'born &c. in a country', अवारपारिणः 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'.

*VArt.*—The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately; as well as when compounded inversely: e. g. अवारीणः 'belonging to this bank of the river', पारीणः 'belonging to the other bank', पारवारीणः 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this'. Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given; the sense of these affixes are those of 'being born' &c. to be taught hereafter in IV. 3. 25 and sūtras that follow it.

"There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first whereof is व, and the last where of are ख्य (IV. 3. 24), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate; and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being produced therefrom' IV. 2. 25, and the like, shall be mentioned; and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable". (Dr. Ballarintyne's *Laghu Kaumudi*).

ग्रामाद्यखञौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्, य-खञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामाद्यञाय खञ् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

94. The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grāma'.

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीणः, 'a rustic'.

कतत्रयादिभ्यो ढकञ् ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्रि-आदिभ्यो-ढकञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कत्रि इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढकञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कुल्याया यलोपच ॥

95. The affix ढकञ् (पयक) comes after the words कत्रि &c.

As कत्रियकः, शीमेयकः &c.

1 कत्रि, 2 उम्नि, 3 पुष्कर, 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोहन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्यती, 10 वर्मती, (चर्मवती) 11 वय्या, 12 यान, 13 कुडपाया (कुल्याया) यलोपच, 14 वज्जी, 15 भक्ति.

कुलकुक्षिप्रीवाभ्यः भ्वास्त्यलङ्कारेषु ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुल-कुक्षि-प्रीवाभ्यः, भ्वा-भासि-अलङ्कारेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलकुक्षिप्रीवाद्यभ्यो ढक्यसंयवे भञ् अक्षि भलंकार इत्येतेषु जातादिभ्येषु ढक्य् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The same affix ढक्य् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and प्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'.

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c. (IV. 3. 25 &c): but the whole word has specific significance. As कौलेयकः = a dog (lit. pertaining to a family); कौक्षेयकः = a sword (lit. remaining in a sheath), मेदेयकः = a necklace. When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by भञ् as, कौलः, कौक्षः and मेवः ॥

नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् ॥ ९७ ॥ नद्यादिभ्यः, ढक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नदी इत्येवमादिभ्यो ढक्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ढक् (पर्यं) comes after the words 'nadi' &c, in the remaining senses (i. e. IV. 3. 25. &c).

Thus नदिवं, 'pertaining to a river', नद्वेयम् earthen', &c.

1 नदी, 2 नदी, 3 वाराणसी, 4 भ्रावस्ती, 5 कौशाम्बी, 6 वनकौशाम्बी ( वनको ) 7 काशपरी\* 8 काशफरी ( फारी ) 9 खादिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी, 11 पाठा ( पावा ) 12 माया ( मावा ) 13 शाल्वा ( सा-ल्वा ) 14 शार्वा\*, 15 सेतकी ( वासेनकी ) 16 वडवाया दूषे, 17 शाल्वा.

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list. Its derivative will be पूर्व-नगरेयम् ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पूर-वन-गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately. As पोरैयम्, वानेयम् and गिरैयम् ॥

दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्यक् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दक्षिणा, पश्चात्, पुरसः, त्यक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दक्षिणा पश्चात् पुरस् इत्येतेभ्यस्त्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

98. After the words 'dakshina', 'paschat' and 'puras' the affix 'tyak' (त्यं) is added in the remaining senses.

As दक्षिणात्यः 'pertaining to or produced in the south'; पश्चात्यः 'occidental', पुरात्यः 'oriental'.

कापिद्याः षफक् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कापिद्याः, षफक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कापिषीशब्दात् षफक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

प्राचिकम् ॥ पाह्ल्युर्दिर्दिभ्यभेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥

99. After the word 'Kāpisi', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses: (the feminine being formed by ङिप् IV. 1. 41).

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'.



*Vart:*—So also after बाह्वि, हवि and हवि as, बाह्विनी, हविनी, पार्विनी ॥ This debarbs वृत् of IV. 2. 125.

रङ्गोरमनुष्येण च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ रङ्गोः-अमनुष्ये-अण्-च-(ष्फक्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ रङ्गुग्रामावत् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात्-ष्फक् चोपिको अमनुष्येतिषेवे ॥

100. After the word रङ्गु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being.

As राहुवो गोः or राहुवावणो गोः but राहुवको मनुष्यः (IV. 2. 134).

Q. The word रङ्गु belongs to कृष्णारि class (IV. 2. 133); and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV. 2. 134, it will take the affix अण्, and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV. 2. 133; then where is the necessity of the present sūtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non-human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanuysya is that of इव; i. e. अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृशः "a being like man, but not man". The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man'. For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्; but we never do so. When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV. 2. 133, as राहुवः "a woolen blanket". When we want to denote a *living* being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sūtra. The अण् is repeated in this sūtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रङ्गु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV. 1. 83, but this is debarred by वृत् of IV. 2. 125, and वृत् is debarred by इत् of IV. 2. 119, and इत् is debarred by अण् of IV. 2. 132, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sūtra debarbs that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्यु, प्राग्-अपाग्-उदक्-प्रतीचो-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् प्राग् अपाग् उदक् प्रत्यय इत्येतेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ।

101. After the words 'div', 'prāch', 'apāch', 'udach' and 'pratyach', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses.

Thus दिव्यम्, प्रौढ्यम्, अपाध्यम्, उदीच्यम्, (IV. 4. 130) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ For accent see VI. 1. 213. When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyu' and 'tyul', e. g. प्राक्तनम् (IV. 3. 25). The word अपाच् means south.

कन्यायाद्युक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्यायाः ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्यायाद्यादृक् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

102. After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix **उक्** in the remaining senses.

As कान्यिक ॥

वर्णो वुक् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्णो-वुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्याया इत्येव । वर्णो वा कन्या तस्या वुक् प्रत्ययो भवति पैषिकः ॥

103. To the same stem is added the affix **वुक्** when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu.

The Varṇu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV. 2. 81. Thus कान्यिक ॥

अव्ययात्त्यप् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययात्-त्यप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययात् त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति पैषिकः ॥

Kārikā अभेदकृतसिचेश्वरस्यङ्गविधिर्योऽव्ययात्सृष्टः ।

निनिर्भ्यो ध्रुवगत्योश्च प्रवेशो नियमे स्या ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वप्नेर्ध्रुवे ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ निसी गति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ आविसश्छन्दसि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अरण्याणोवक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ दूरेत्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ उचारादहम् ॥

104. The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses.

This rule is too wide. The affix **त्यप्** is restricted to the following Indeclinables :—अमा 'together', इह 'here', कु 'where', those that end in तसि (V. 3. 7) and च (V. 3. 10). As अमात्यः 'a minister', इहत्यः, कुत्यः, ततस्त्यः, तप्त्यः &c.

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe: औपरिष्ठः, पौरस्तः, पारस्तः formed from the Indeclinables उपरि, पुर, and पार; moreover, the Indeclinables, that are Vpiddha (i. e. having आ, ऐ and औ in the first syllable), take the affix छ in the same sense. As, आरातीव ॥

Vārt:—The **त्यप्** is added to नि, in the sense of "fixed" as, निव्यम् ॥ ध्रुवम् ॥

Vārt:—The **त्यप्** is added to निस् in the sense of 'going'. As निदधः "Chāṇḍalas &c who have gone out of the caste".

Vārt:—The **त्यप्** is added to the word आविस् in the Vedas: As, आवि-द्यो वदन्ते ॥

Vārt:—The affix ज comes after अरण्याः e. g. आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥

Vārt:—The affix एत्य comes after दूर, e. g. दूरैत्यः पथिकः ॥

Vārt:—The affix आहस् comes after उचर e. g. औचराह ॥

**ऐषमोहः श्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऐषमस्-ह्यस्-श्वसो-अन्यत-  
रस्याम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ ऐषमस् ह्यस् श्वस् इत्येतेभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां त्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥**

105. The affix **त्यप्** is added optionally after the words 'aishamas', 'hyas', and 'svas'; in the remaining senses.

As ऐषमस्त्यम् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23); श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV. 3. 23) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV. 3. 15). The word 'svas' takes the augment **नुद्** also, hence the above three forms.

**तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञ् औ ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तीर-रूप्य-उत्तर-पदात्-अञ्-औ ॥**  
**वृत्तिः ॥ सीतेत्तरपदाद् रूप्योत्तरपदाच्च प्रातिपरिकाययासंख्यमञ् अ इत्येतां प्रत्ययो भवतः शेषिकः ॥**

106. The affix **अञ्** comes after a word ending with **तीर**, and the **अ** comes after a word ending with **रूप्य**; in the remaining senses.

This debarb **अञ्** ॥ Thus काकतीरम्, पादुकीरम्, बार्करूप्यम्, शैवरूप्यम् ॥ The words formed by **अञ्**, take the affix **ङीप्** in the feminine (IV. 1. 15); those in **अ** take the affix **राप्** (IV. 1. 4). The sūtra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्वात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called *uttara-pada*, as 'bahu' is not a *pada* but is an affix V. 3. 68. Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by **अञ्** ॥

**दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां अः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्वपदात्, असंज्ञायाम्-अः ॥**  
**वृत्तिः ॥ असंज्ञायामिति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । दिक्पूर्वपदात्प्रातिपरिकायसंज्ञा विषयाद् अः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥ .**

107. The affix **अ** comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another that signifies 'direction', provided the compound is not a Name.

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix **अ** is added, forming the feminine in **आ** ॥ The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base'. This debarb **अञ्** ॥ Thus पूर्वशाला + अ = पूर्वशालः (VI. 4. 148, VII. 2. 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'. Similarly शशिनशालः, आपरशालः ॥

Why do we say "when not a Name"? Observe, from the word पूर्वशु-  
कामशमी (II. 1. 50) we have पूर्वशुकामशर्मः (VII. 3. 14), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpuruṣa kind is formed by the words शुव + शु-  
कामशमी; "Ishukāmshami-in-the-East"; the whole being the name of the city.

Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vṛddhied, as is the general rule VII. 2. 117; but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vṛddhied, viz the letter इ of इषुकामशमी by rule VII. 3. 14. Similarly अपरेषुकामशमी: "who is in Ishukāmashamī-in-the-West".

The word 'ष' is used in the sūtra for the sake of percision, for had the sūtra been दिक्पूर्वपरान्मन्त्राणां, there would rise the doubt, whether the the word-form दिक् was meant, or words denoting दिक् were meant. In fact the स्वरूपविधि is debarred by the use of the word ॥ For had it meant दिक्; the rule would have applied to words like दिग्गजः &c.

मद्रेभ्योऽञ् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्रेभ्यो-अञ् ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपरान्मन्त्राणां प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

108. The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्रे, preceded by a word denoting direction; in the remaining senses.

Thus पूर्वमद्रे: f. श्री; आपरमद्रे: f. श्री ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sūtra, the initial vowel is vṛddhied by VII. 3. 13 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्रे ॥

उदीच्यग्रामाच्चवह्वचोन्तोदात्तात् ॥ १०९ ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ दिग्महजं निवृत्त्य । उदीच्यग्रामवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्ताद् अञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

109. The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udātta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North.

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here. The अञ् debar अञ् ॥ Thus शैवपुरम्, माण्डपुरम् ॥

Why do we say "village of north-folk"? Observe माण्डुरम् formed by अञ्; difference in accent.

Why do we say "consisting of more than two syllables"? Observe धृञी-ध्वञ् ॥

Why do we say "being oxytone?" Observe शार्करीषानम् ॥ Here धा is udātta by VI. 1. 194, taking लिट् accent.

प्रत्योत्तरपदपलयादिकोपधादण् ॥ ११० ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ प्रत्योत्तरपदात् पलयादिभ्यः ककारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

110. The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रत्य, after the words पलदी &c, and

after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अण् of the last aphorism. Thus गार्हीप्रत्यः, गार्हकीप्रत्यः, पालदः, परिषदः, नैलिनकः, वेयावकः ॥

In the class Paladyādi, those words which denote villages of गार्हीप्रत्यः, will not take इष् or भिद् affix of IV. 2. 117; but will take the affix अण् of this rule. Such as the words गौरी and नैतकी ॥

The word गोमती occurs in Paladyādi class, and consequently it does not take the affix इष् (IV. 2. 123) which it would otherwise have taken by reason of its being a Vṛiddha word ending in long ई ॥

The word गार्हीक has a penultimate क, but it is recited in Paladyādi class, showing that it does not take the affix छ of IV. 2. 114 though it is a Vṛiddha word.

The affix अण् is repeated in this sūtra, (though its anuvṛitti comes from IV. 1. 83), in order to exclude the application of any rule which might have debarred the general अण् ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 गार्हीक, 5 कलकीट ( मलकीट ) 6 बहुकीट ( गार्हकीट ) 7 आलकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिरा, 11 गौरी, 12 नैतकी ( नैतकी ), 13 परिषदा, 14 पूरसेन, 15 गोमती, 16 पदधर, 17 उदयान ( उदयानि ) 18 बहुलोम, 19 सकुलोमन् ॥

कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे ॥ १११ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रमिह न प्रत्ययार्थो न च प्रकृतिविशेषणं, तर्ह्येवं संबध्यते, कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे च प्रत्ययो विहितस्तदन्तेभ्य एवाण् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

111. The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c.

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix. It simply means "that after a word ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kaṇva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family-name; the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses." This debars the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus कण्वाः "the pupils of Kāṇva". गौकसाः (IV. 1. 105).

Why do we say "when denoting Family-names?" Thus the word कण्व, when it means कण्व देवताश्रय, forms its secondary derivative कण्वीयन् by छ ॥

The Kaṇva-class is a sub-class of Gargādi. The Family-names from कण्व and गौकस are कौण्ड्य and गौकाश्व by rule IV. 1. 105. To this, the affix अण् is added. कौण्ड्य + अण् = कौण्ड्यः (VI. 4. 148 and VI. 4. 152).

इञश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ इञः, च-(अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रे च इञ् विहितस्तदन्तात्पातिपादिकादण्प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

112. After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus from दक्ष we have Patronymic दक्षि, from which दक्षा: "the pupils of Dākshi"; दक्षाः, मादकाः ॥ The final इ is elided before अण् by VI. 4. 148.

Why do we say 'denoting a family-name'? Observe सौतङ्गनिः, a word formed by इञ् of IV. 2. 80, not denoting a family, but having the four-fold sense of IV. 2. 68-70. The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गनीयन् by छ (IV. 2. 114).

न द्वयच्चः प्राच्यभरतेषु ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-द्वयच्चः, प्राच्य-भरतेषु( अण् ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वयः प्रातिपदिकाव्याच्यभरतगोचरिभन्तारण् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata.

This sūtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sūtra. The result being, that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism, form the शैषिक derivatives by the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus पौष्कीयाः, काशीयाः from पौष्कि, काशि ॥ Why do we say "consisting of two syllables"? Observe पान्नागाणः formed by अण् from पान्नागारि ॥

Why do we say "when it denotes the family-names of East folks or Bharata"? Observe: दक्षाः from दक्षि ॥

Q. How do you form काशीय when by rule IV. 2. 116, the proper form would be कश्चिकी or काचिका ?

Ans. The word काशि of sūtra 116 refers to a country because it occurs with चेदि, while the काशि of the example under the present aphorism is a Family-name.

The Bharatas belong also to the East-Folk or Prāchyas. Their separate mention here indicates by Jñāpaka or inference, that wherever Prāchya is used in these sūtras, it does not include the Bharatas. See II 4. 66.

वृद्धाच्छः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-छः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

114. After a word called Vriddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses.

The word णेज does not govern this sūtra. This is a general rule: The Vriddha is defined in I. 1. 73 &c. This debars अण् ॥ Thus from गार्ग्य we

have भार्गव (VI. 4. 148 & 152). So also वान्सीवः, छात्रीवः, नालीवः. ॥

This rule being a subsequent one, debars the following preceding rules, in case of conflict of rules (I. 4. 2) 1. The rule relating to Indeclinables (104), 2. The rule relating to words ending in तीर and क्त्व (106) 3. The rule relating to Villages of North-folk (109), 4. The rule relating to penultimate क् (110). Thus.

इह-इहवः; but भारान्-भारतीवः कारवतीर-कारवतीरवः; but वायवतीर-वायवतीरपीवः  
वाणारक्त्व-वाणारक्त्ववः; but माणिक्य-माणिक्यकः (IV. 2, 21) शिवपुर-शिवपुरवः; but वाड-  
वकव-वाडवकर्षीवः, निलीनक-नैलीनकः; but भौलूक-भौलूकीवः ॥

भवत्प्रकृच्छसौ ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भवत्, ठक्-छसौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवच्छब्दाद् वृद्धात् ठक्छसौ प्रत्ययो भवत् शेषिकौ ॥

115. The affix ठक् and छस् come after the Vriddha word भवत्, in the remaining senses.

The word भवत् is a Vriddha word because it belongs to tyadādī class (I. 1. 74). This rule debar छ of the last aphorism. In the affix, छस्, the final स् is indicatory, showing that the word भवत् before this affix gets the designation of Pada पद (I. 4. 16). Thus भवत् + ठक् = भावत्कः; भवत् + छस् = भवशीवः ॥

But when the word भवत् is not treated as Vriddha, then it takes the general affix भवः; as भावत् ॥ This is the case when भवत् is derived by affixing चतु to भू ॥

काश्यादिभ्यश्चमिठौ ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यादिभ्यः-उञ्-मिठौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काशि इत्येवमादिभ्यश्चमिद् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवत् शेषिकौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आपरादिपूर्वपरास्काकालान्तात् ॥

116. The affixes उञ् and मिद् come, in the remaining senses, after the words काशि &c.

In the affixes उञ् and मिद्, the इ is replaced by इक्, the other letters are anubandhas. The form in both cases will be the same, but there is a distinction in the feminine. Those formed by उञ् will take ङीव् (IV. 1. 15), the others will take यव् (IV. 1. 4). Thus काशिका or काशिकी, वैशिका or वैशिकी ॥

The word वृद्धात् is to be read in to this sūtra. Those words in the list which are not वृद्ध will take the affixes, by virtue of being so classified.

The word देवदत्तः occurs in the list of words. It gets the designation of वृद्ध by I. 1. 75. Thas देवदत्तिकः ॥ But when it is the name of a Vāhika village, it is not a Vriddha word. The secondary derivative then will be देवदत्तः ॥

Q. In the Māhābhāṣya it is said that a Proper name is optionally

treated as a Vriddha, and it gives example of देवदत्ताः or देवदत्ताः ॥ So then देवदत्ताः is a Vriddha word and will take these affixes,

Ans. No. In that very passage of Mahābhāṣya it is further stated that the option in the case of Proper-Names is allowed only for the purposes of the application of the affix छ (IV. 2. 114) and not the affix डम् and झिद् ॥

Vārt :—This affix comes after compound words ending in काल and preceded by आपन्, ऊर्ध्व and तद् ; as आपत्कालिकी or °का, और्ध्वकालिकी or °का, तान्कालिकी or °का ॥

1 काधि, 2 चेदि ( वैरी ) 3 सांयाति°, 4 संवाह, 5 अद्भुत, 6 मोदमान ( मोहमान ) 7 शकुला, 8 हस्तिकर्ष, 9 कुनामन्, ( कुरामन्, 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन ( गोधासन ) 13 भारद्वाज, 14 भारिद्वन्, 15 अरिच°, 16 देवदत्त, 17 दद्यामान ( दासमान ) 18 सौवादतान ( सौधावतान ) 19 युवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोरन°, 23 सिन्धुमित्र, 24 दासमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र°, 26 सोममित्र°, 27 छागमित्र°, 28 सधमित्र°, 29 आपराधिपूर्वपरात् ( आपर्, ऊर्ध्व, तद् ) कालान्तान्, 30 संज्ञा, 31 भौतिक, 32 भौलिङ्गि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाहीक-ग्रामेभ्यः च, ( ठञ् झिडौ ) ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यश्च मिडौ प्रत्ययो भवतः शैषिकौ ॥

117. The affixes ठञ् and झिद् come, in the remaining senses, after the Vriddha words denoting the villages of Vāhika.

The word वृद्धान् is to be read into this sūtra. This debar the affix छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus शाकलिकी or शाकलिका, मान्यविकी or मान्यविका ॥

विभाषोद्गीर्णरेषु ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-उद्गीर्णरेषु ( ठञ्-झिडौ ) ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ उद्गीर्णरेषु ये वाहीकग्रामास्तदाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विभाषा डम् मिडौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

118. The affixes ठञ् and झिद् come optionally in the remaining senses, after Vriddha words denoting Vāhika villages situated in Uśīnara.

Thus आह्वजालिकी, लिका and लीया; so also सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका and सौदर्शनीया ॥

ओर्देशे ठञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, देशे, ठञ् ।  
वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकान् डम् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

119. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धान्' does not govern this sūtra. For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus निपादकर्षकः, शारङ्गमूकः ॥ Why do we say देशे 'denoting a country'? Observe पादवाः 'the pupils of पद्' formed by अण् ॥



In the previous sūtras, the anuvṛitti of इम् and मिद् both were current ; hence the repetition of इम् in this sūtra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of इम् from the last sūtra without drawing the anuvṛitti of मिद् ॥

वृद्धात्पाचाम् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-पाचाम्-(उम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ओर्देश इत्येव । उवर्णान्ताद् वृद्धात्पाचाम्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

120. The affix उम् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word ending in उ and denoting a locality of the East-folks.

The phrase ओर्देशे is here understood. Thus आढकजम्बुकः, शाकजम्बुकः नापितवास्तुकः ॥

The affix उम् would have been valid by the last sūtra also, the present sūtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that in the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मलवास्तु, from which we have माहवास्तवः ॥

धन्वयोपधाद्बुम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन्व-य-उपधात्-बुम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धन्ववाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशाभिधायिनो वृद्धात्प्रातिपदिकाद् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

121. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place.

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here. The word धन्व means a waste or desert. Thus पारेधन्वकः, ऐरावतकः are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly सांक्राड्यकः and काम्पिल्यकः are examples of य penultimate.

प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रस्थ-पुर-वहान्तात्-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रस्थपुर वह इत्येवमन्ताद्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् वृद्धाद्बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

122. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह.

This debars छ (IV. 2. 114). Thus मालाप्रस्थकः, मान्दीपुरकः, कान्तिपुरकः, पैलुवहकः, फाल्गुनीवहकः ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix बुम् by the next sūtra also, but as that sūtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sūtra is general in its scope,

रोपधेतोः प्राचाम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ र-उपधा-ईतोः-प्राचाम् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ रोपधासीकारान्ताच्च प्राग्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

123. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate **र** or ending in **ई** ॥

This debars **छ** ॥ Thus पाटलिपुत्रकाः, ऐकचक्रकाः ॥ So also with words ending in **ई** ॥ As, काकनी—काकनकाः, माकनी—माकनकाः (VI. 4. 148).

Why do we say प्राचात् 'of the East-folk'? Observe राजानिधीवः formed by **छ**. The **न** in ईन् in the sūtra is for the sake of distinctness.

जनपदतद्वच्योश्च ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जनपद-तद्-अवश्योः च-(बुञ्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ इन्द्राज्यनपदवाचिनस्त्वद्वचिवाचिनश्च प्रातिपदिकाद्बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

124. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom.

The phrases इन्द्रात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तद्वचि ॥ This debars the affix **छ** ॥ Thus आभिषारकः and आर्यकः are examples of जनपद ॥ And औषुहकः and इयामादनकः from औषुह and इयामादन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदवचि ॥

The अवचि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village. This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of **छ** by IV. 2. 137 to words like चिगर्ध्व which is an arid desert : as निगर्धकः ॥ The word तद्वचि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary".

अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविधायत् ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवृद्धात्-अपि-बहुवचन-विधायत्-(बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवृद्धाद् इन्द्राज्य जनपदात् तद्वचिवाचिनश्च बहुवचनविधायत्प्रातिपदिकाद् बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

125. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words.

The words जनपद and तद्वचि are to be read into the aphorism. This debars **छ** and अच् ॥ Thus from भङ्गाः, वङ्गाः and कलिङ्गाः which are non-Vriddha Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have भाङ्गकः, वाङ्गकः and कालिङ्गकः ॥ Similarly भज्जमीराः and भज्जकन्दाः are non-Vriddha always plural words, denoting boundary of kingdom; we have from them भाज्जमीरकः and भाज्जकन्दकः ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha जनपद word by the last sūtra, though these be always plural in form. Thus शर्वकः and जाम्बकः from शर्वाः and

शब्दाः ॥ So also to Vridhdha words denoting limit of a Kingdom : कालंजरी—  
कालंजरीकः, वैकुण्ठः—वैकुण्ठिकः ॥

The word विपक्ष is used in the sūtra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form. Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्तकः plural of वर्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वर्तनः ॥

The word अपि is used in the sūtra to indicate that Vridhdha-words which would have taken बुम् by the last sūtra are not debarred by this sūtra, when they are plural in form. This debarring would have taken place, by the rule of interpretation known as सक्रोष्टिन्यायः ; but for the use of the word अपि ॥ This maxim or nyāya is thus explained in Padamanjari :—पूर्वसूत्रे हि जनपदसामान्ये वृद्धात् बुम् विहितः, यथा ब्राह्मणसामान्ये वशिष्ठानः इह तु बहुवचनविषयेविशेषेऽवृद्धाद् बुम्, यथा कौण्डिन्ये सद्रावणं, ततश्च बहुवचनमावृत्तिं वृद्धाद् बुम्भिमात्रे आरम्भमाणोऽवृद्धाद् बुम् वृद्धाद् बुम्भो-  
वाचकः स्यादित्यपि घञ्जन समुचीयते इत्यर्थः ॥

कच्छाशिवपक्षगतोत्तरपदात् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छ-आग्नि-वक्त्र-गर्त-उत्तरप-  
दात्-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छाद्युत्तरपदाद् देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्चाद् वृद्धाद्वृद्धाच्चबुम् प्रत्ययो भवति धैविकः ॥

126. The affix बुम् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vridhdha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni', 'vaktra' and 'garta'.

This debarbs छ and भ् ॥ As शकच्छकः, पैपलीकच्छकः, काण्डाग्रकः, वैभुजाग्रकः ऐन्द्रवक्त्रकः, सैन्धुवक्त्रकः, बाहुगर्तकः and चाक्रगर्तकः ॥

The word उत्तरपद in the sūtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c.

धूमादिभ्यश्च ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धूमादिभ्यः-च-(बुम्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ धूमादिभ्यो देशवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति धैविकः ॥

127. The affix बुम् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhūma &c, denoting country.

This debarbs भ् &c. धौमकः, स्याण्डकः &c. The word पायेद्य occurs in the list. It would have taken बुम् by IV. 2. 121 as it has द्य as penultimate. Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix. Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken बुम् by 124 ante; here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country. Thus विदेहानां क्षत्रियाणां स्वं = 'देहेहकम्' "the property of Vidcha Kshatriyās". So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list. It takes the affix when the

derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor'. Thus सामुद्रिका नौः and सामुद्रिकौ मनुष्यः ॥ Otherwise not : सामुद्रम् "Oceanic water".

1 धूम, 2 वड्डण्ड (खड्डण्ड and खण्ड) 3 वंशावने, 4 अर्जुनाव (आर्जुनाह) 5 माहकस्थली, 6 आनकस्थली\*, 7 माहिषस्थली\*, 8 मानस्थली (माषस्थली) 9 अहस्थली\*, 10 मद्रुकस्थली\*, 11 समुद्रस्थली, 12 शण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 साचासाह, 17 शण्ड, 18 (शिष्य) 18 निचवर्ध (निचवर्ध; निच, वल) 19 भक्षाली\*, 20 मद्रुकूल, 21 आजीकूल (आञ्जीकूल) 22 ब्राह्मण, 23 वपाहाव, 24 संस्कीय (संहीय) 25 बर्बर, 26 वज्र्य, 27 गर्त (वर्धगर्त) 28 आनर्त, 29 माडर, 30 पायेय, 31 घोष, 32 पल्ली (वल्ली) 33 आराज्ञी, 34 धार्तराज्ञी, 35 आवय, 36 तीर्य (अवचात तीर्य) 37 कूलात्सौवीरैषु, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप) 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पद्मार, 45 क्षिणापय, 46 साकेत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षस्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मानवल्ली, 51 मुराज्ञी ॥

नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नगरात्-कुत्सन-प्रावीण्ययोः-(बुद्धिः)

वृत्तिः ॥ नगराद्ब्राह्मणं प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्बमाने ॥

A. केनायं मुषितः पन्था गात्रे पश्मालिधूसरः ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेण ॥ चौराहि नागरका भवन्ति ॥ A. केनेह लिखितं चित्रं मनेनेचविकाशि यत् ? B. इह नगरे मनुष्येण ॥ A. संभाव्यतएतन्नागरकेणे ॥ प्रवीणा हि नागरका भवन्ति ॥

128. The affix बुद्धि comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied.

The word कुत्सनं which is equivalent to निन्दनं or 'blame or censure'; and प्रावीण्ये which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix.

Thus नागरकः 'a knave, a cunning person, or a skillful person'. The word literally means 'a town-born, or town-bred', but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist.

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागरः ब्राह्मणाः 'the Nagara Brāhmaṇas'.

अरण्यान्मनुष्ये ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अरण्यात्-मनुष्ये-(बुद्धिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अरण्यशब्दाद्बुद्धिं प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिको मनुष्येऽभिधेये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पथ्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्यं हस्तिपितृ वक्तव्यम् ॥

129. The affix बुद्धि comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man.

This debars the affix च. Thus आरण्यकः मनुष्यः 'a forester'.

Vārt :—It should be stated rather that the affix बुद्धि is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant'. Thus आरण्यकः पन्थाः, अभ्यासः, न्यायः, विहारः, मनुष्यः or हस्ती ॥

*Vdt.*—Optionally when the sense is that of a cow-dung as भारण्याः or भारण्यका गोमयाः ॥

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As भारण्याः पशवः 'wild beasts'.

विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-कुरु-युगन्धराभ्याम्-(बुञ्)  
वृत्तिः ॥ कुरु युगन्धर इत्येताभ्यां विभाषा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

130. The affix बुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'.

Thus कौरवर्षः or कौरवः, वीगन्धरकः or वीगन्धरः ॥ These words denote अनपह or inhabited countries, and therefore by sūtra IV. 2. 125 they would always have taken the affix बुञ्. The present sūtra makes the application of बुञ् optional and not obligatory. The word कुरु occurs in the list of कच्छादि class (IV. 2. 133). By virtue of its being so classified, it will take अण् also. And when it means man or something found in men, it will take necessarily, not optionally, the affix बुञ् by virtue of sūtra IV. 2. 134. As कौरवको मनुष्यः, कौरवक-मस्य हतितम् ॥ This aphorism therefore, teaches option regarding कुरु with these restrictions, while it teaches option absolutely with regard to the word युगन्धरः ॥

मद्रवृज्योः कन् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्र-वृज्योः-कन् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ मद्रवृजिषाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

131. The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vṛjji'.

This debars बुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries. Thus मद्रकः 'born in Madra', वृजिकः ॥

कोपधाट् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ क-उपधाट्-अण् ।

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाट् प्रातिपदिकेण प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses after a word denoting a place and having the letter क as its penultimate.

This debars बुञ् in the case of words which denote अनपह or inhabited countries. Of course the words which do not denote अनपह, will have taken अण् even without this rule. Thus भार्यिकः "born in ह्यिका." So also गार्हपिकः ॥

The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in ट्, and would have otherwise taken ङ् by IV. 2. 119. Thus देवनाकः "born in देवनाकु" ॥ The word देवो is understood in this sūtra.

कच्छादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कच्छादिभ्यः-च-(अण्) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छ इत्येवमादिभ्यो ह्यवाचिभ्योऽणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix **अण्** comes, in the remaining senses, after the words **kachchha** &c denoting places.

The word **हेछे** is understood here. This debarb बुम् &c. Thus **काच्छः**, **सेन्धवः**, **वार्णवः** &c. The words **कच्छ** &c. are not invariable plural words, because by the next sūtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c. The word **विजापक** occurs in this list. It would have taken **अण्** by the last sūtra also, because it has **क** as its penultimate. Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra by which it takes **बुम्** also under certain conditions.

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु, 3 वज्र, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 मनुष्य (मणु, मण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 मनुष्य, 13 मज्जहार, 14 विजापक, 15 कलुतर (कुलुत) 16 रङ्गुल

**मनुष्यतत्स्योर्बुम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनुष्य-तत्स्ययोः बुम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्ये च जातारौ प्रत्ययार्थे कच्छादिभ्यो बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix **बुम्** comes after the words **kachchha** &c. in the senses of born &c. when the meaning is a 'man' or 'what exists in man'.

This debarb अण् ॥ Thus **काच्छकः** 'a man born in Kutch'. **काच्छकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम् ॥** 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'. **काच्छिका ब्रूडा ॥** Similarly **सेन्धवको मनुष्यः**, **सेन्धवकमस्य हसितं जल्पितम्**, **सेन्धविका ब्रूडा ॥**

Why do we say "when meaning man or what exists in man?" Observe **काच्छी गोः** 'The cow of Kutch'. **सेन्धवो वार्णवः ॥**

**अपदातो साल्वात् ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपदातो-साल्वात्-(बुम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरातावेव मनुष्ये मनुष्यस्ये साल्वाद्यम्बार् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135 The affix **बुम्** comes after the word **साल्व** in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier.

The word **साल्व** which occurs in the **कच्छादि** class, would have taken **बुम्** by the last sūtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute. The present sūtra makes a restriction. Thus **साल्वको मनुष्यः**, **साल्वकमस्य हसितं जल्पितं** &c. But **साल्वः पशति व्रजति** 'the Sálva foot soldier goes.'

**गोयवाग्वोश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-यवाग्वोः-च-(बुम्) ।**

वृत्तिः ॥ गवि यवाग्वो च जातारौ प्रत्ययार्थे साल्वाद्यम्बार् बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

136. The affix **बुम्** comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words **साल्व**, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'.

This debars अण् of IV. 2. 133. Thus सायुको गीः "the cows born in Salva". सायुका वराणः 'the barley gruel of Sālya'. In other cases we have सायुम् ॥

गर्तोत्तरपदाच्छः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्त-उत्तरपदाद् छः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्तोत्तरपदोत्तरपदिनः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

137. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term.

This debars अण् ॥ The word वेद्ये is to be read into the sūtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes इङ् and मिद् of sūtra 117 ante. Thus वृकगर्तीयं, घृगालगर्तीयम्, द्वाविद्गर्तीयम् 'born in porcupine's hole &c'. The word उत्तरपद is used in the sūtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त, but is preceded by the affix बहु, as बाहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V. 3. 68) and not a pada.

गहादिभ्यश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गहादिभ्यः-च-(छः) ।

वृत्तिः ॥ गह इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यश्चः प्रत्ययो भवति शेषिकः ॥

138. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c.

This debars अण् &c. Thus गहीयः, 'belonging to a cave'. अन्तःस्थीयः &c.

In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमभ्यं चाण् चरणे". It means "The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added. Thus मध्यमीयाः ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमाः" ॥ The word मध्यम here has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally. Thus मध्यमयिः means पृथिवीमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण, it has the sense of निवास of sūtra IV. 3. 89 and not all the other senses. Thus त्रयः प्राच्याः, त्रयः भौरीच्याः, त्रयो माध्यमाः "three Charaṇas dwell in the East, three in the West, and three in the Middle". The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वतः occur in the list. They have the affix तस्, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided. Thus मुखतीयम् and पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

The augment कृक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ ॥ As जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥ The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

The affix छण् comes after the words देण् &c. No list of such words is given. It is an आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देणकीयम्, देवकीयम्, भौत्तरपदकीयम्, प्रात्यकीयम्, माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c.

1 यह, 2 अन्तःस्थ, 3 सन, 4 विपम, 5 मध्यमधर्मःचाश्चरमे 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध, 10 पूर्वपक्ष, 11 अपरपक्ष, 12 अधन छात्र 13 उत्तमछात्र, 14 एकछात्र, 15 समानछात्र, 16 समानमान\*, 17 एकमान, 18 एकवृक्ष, 19 एकपल्लव, 20 इष्टम, 21 इष्टनीक ( इष्टनी ) 22 अवस्थान्नन ( अवस्थानी and अवस्कन्न ) 23 कामप्रसय, 24 खाद्यान्न ( खादिकाद्यान्नि; खाद्यान्नि and खाण्डाग्रनी ) 25 काठेरणि ( कावेरणि and कामवेरणि ) 26 लवेरणि\*, 27 सौमिषि\*, 28 शैथिलि, 29 आसुन्\*, 30 देवघर्भि ( देवघर्मन् ) 31 भौति, 32 भार्हिषि, 33 आमिषि, 34 भ्यादि, 35 वैजि ( वैरजि ), 36 आभ्यधि, 37 आनुशयि, 38 शौजि, 39 आग्निघर्भि, ( अग्निघर्मन् ) 40 भौजि, 41 वाराटकि ( आराटकि ), 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 सैनवृजि ( सैनवृजिन् ), 44 आभ्यस्थि, 45 औष्माहमानि\*, 46 ऐक, 47 विन्वि\*, 48 वन्ताम\*, 49 ईस\*, 50 तन्त्वम\*, 51 उत्तर, 52 अनन्तर ( अन्तर ), 53 मुखपार्श्वतसोलोपः ( also मुखतीय and पार्श्वतीय ), 54 अनपरयोः कुक् च ( also अनकीय and परकीय ), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेणुकादिभ्यश्छच्. 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि, 59 पारकि. It is an आकृतिगण ॥

प्राचां कटादेः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राञ्चाप्र-कटादेः ।

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रादेशवाचिनः कटादेः प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

139. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word प्राक् of the sūtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटपोषीयम्, कटपुलीयम् ॥

राज्ञः क च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ राज्ञः-क-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राज्ञः ककारान्तादेशो भवति छश्च प्रत्ययः ॥

140. The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राज्ञन्, when छ is added.

This sūtra only teaches substitution: for राज्ञ् would have taken छ by IV, 2. 114. Thus राज्ञकीयम् ॥ The word देशे does not govern this sūtra, not being appropriate.

वृद्धादकेकान्तस्त्रोपधात् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृद्धात्-अक-इक-अन्त-स्त्रोपधात्-(छः)

वृत्तिः ॥ वृद्धादेशवाचिनो ऽक इक इत्यदमन्तात् स्त्रकारोपधाच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Vridhdha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having स्त्र as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sūtra. This debars अण् of Sūtra 132 ante: as well as the affixes ordained by Sūtras 117 and 123.

Thus अकः—मारोहणकीयम्, श्रोत्रणकीयम् ॥ इकः—आभ्यपयिकीयम्, शास्त्रान्तिकीयम् ॥ स्त्रोपधात्—कोटिशिखीयम्, आयोध्यासीयम् ॥



*Vart.*--The words लोसुक् &c. are also governed by this rule though they end in इक् ॥ Thus लोसुक्कीवद्, लोसुक्कीवद्, ऐन्द्रऐण्कीवद् ॥

कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कन्था-पलद्-नगर-ग्राम-ह्रद्-उत्तरपदात्-(छ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्थापुत्तरपदोत्तरपदादिना ह्रदाव्यातिपरिकात् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

142. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vridhdha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as second terms.

This debars the other affixes such as इम् and शिद् of 117 ante Thus शशिकन्धीवद्, नाहिकिकन्धीवद्, शशिकपलदीवद्, नाहिकिकपलदीवद्, शशिनगरीवद्, नाहिकिनगरीवद्, शशिग्रामीवद्, नाहिकिग्रामीवद्, शशिह्रदीवद्, नाहिकिह्रदीवद् ॥

पर्वताद्य ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्वतात्-च-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दात् छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

143. The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus पर्वतस्थो राजा "the hill-king". पर्वतीयः पुस्तः 'the hill man'.

विभाषा अमनुष्ये ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-अमनुष्ये-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्वतशब्दात् छः प्रत्ययो भवति वाअमनुष्ये शब्दे ॥

144. The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man.

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पर्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits', पर्वतीयनुरक् or पर्वतनुरक् 'hill water'.

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not-human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्यः where there is no option allowed.

कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृकण-पर्णात्-भारद्वाजे-(छः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृकणपर्णशब्दाभ्यां भारद्वाजशब्दादिभ्यां छः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

145. The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bharadvāja.

The word देशे is understood here also. The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country. Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bharadvāja?" Observe कर्कष्यम्, पार्णम् &c.

# अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ।

## BOOK FOURTH.

### CHAPTER THIRD.

युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ्च ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ युष्मद्-अस्मदोः-अन्य-तस्याम्-  
खञ्च च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युष्मदस्मदोः खञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति वैयिकः चकाराण्यञ्च ॥

1. The affix खञ्च also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

The regulating power of the word द्वेति ceases. The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well. The word "optionally" shows that the general affix भञ्च may also be employed. Thus there are three affixes, खञ्च, छ and भञ्च, and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vṛddha, as they belong to Tyadādi class (I. 1. 74), and would have taken छ by IV. 2. 114; the present sūtra enjoins three affixes for each. Thus युष्मद्-+भञ्च = युष्माक + भञ्च (IV. 3. 2) = योष्माकः युष्मद्-+छ = युष्मद्-+इय = युष्मदीयः (VII. 1. 2). युष्मद्-+खञ्च = युष्माक-+ईन (IV. 3. 2) = योष्माकीन्ः (VII. 1. 2; and VIII. 4. 2). So also आस्माकः, अस्मदीयः, and आस्माकीन्ः ॥

तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्मिन् अणि-च-युष्माक-आ-  
स्माकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मिन्नित्वासाद्विहितः खञ्च निर्दिश्यते न चकारानुकृष्टः । तस्मिन्नाभि अणि च युष्मदस्म-  
दोरन्यतरस्यां युष्माक अस्माक इत्येतावद्वैद्यो भवतः ॥

2. When this affix खञ्च is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ्च, and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sūtra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I. 3. 10) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This, however, is not

done, because the sūtra can be divided into two separate aphorisms : as (1) तस्मिन् स्वप्नि शुष्मस्त्वोद्युष्माकांस्माकौ भवतः (5) ततोऽपि च ॥ i. e. (1) when स्वप्न् is added, शुष्माक and भस्माक are the substitutes of शुष्मर् and भस्मर् respectively (2). So also when अण् follows.

As for illustrations, see the preceding Sūtra, e. g. यौष्माकीनः, भास्माकीनः with स्वप्न्, and यौष्माकः and भास्माकः with अण् ॥ This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as शुष्मरीयः and भस्मरीयः ॥

तवकममकावेकवचने ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तवक-ममकौ-एकवचने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकवचनपरयोद्युष्मस्त्वोस्तवक ममक इत्येतावदेषौ भवतो वपासंख्यं तस्मिन्स्वप्नि अणि च परतः ॥

3. In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when स्वप्न् and अण् follow.

As तावकीनः 'belonging to thee', मामकीनः "belonging to me." तावकः and मामकः ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will लवीकः, मरीयः.

The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix झु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I. 1. 63, there will not be the application of this rule. This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्ये ॥

अर्धोद्यत् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्धोद्यत्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्धोद्यत्वाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

4. The affix यत् comes after the word अर्धे in the remaining senses.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्धोद्यत् 'belonging to half'

Vdt:— When it has a prior term the affix इम् is used. As बालेयार्जिकम्, (बाल्यर्थवस्तु = बाल्ये) ॥ गीतमार्जिकम् ॥

परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-अधम-उत्तम-पूर्वात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर अवर अधम उत्तम इत्येवंपूर्वाधार्याद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

5. The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhamā', and 'uttama'.

Thus परार्द्धम्, अवर्द्धम्, अधमार्द्धम्, उत्तमार्द्धम् ॥

Q. Why do we say पूर्वात् 'preceded by'? Its use seems to be superfluous. If the sūtra stood as परावराधमोत्तमेभ्यः, it would have given the same sense. For the अर्धोद्यत् being supplied from the last sūtra, the whole sūtra

would have been परावराधनोक्तनेभ्योऽर्धाद् यत् which must mean 'preceded by para &c.'

A. The words पर and अवर have meanings other than that of दिक् or direction. As परं सुखं 'highest pleasure.' अवरं सुखं 'lowest pleasure.' Therefore, when these words पर and अवर denote direction, then by the subsequent rule, the affix would have been always इप् and यत् ॥ The employment of the term पूर्व in the sūtra, prevents the application of the affix इप् even when the words denote direction.

According to the Vārtika सपूर्वपशाद् इप् given under the last sūtra, the word अर्ध preceded by any word would have taken इप्, hence the necessity of this sūtra ordaining यत्, when the first terms are पर &c.

दिक्पूर्वपशाद् इप् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिक्-पूर्व-पशाद्-इप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपशादर्थान्ताव्याप्तिपरिकात् इप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च शैबिकः ॥

6. And the affix इप् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction.

By च, the affix यत् is also used. This debars अम् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्धम् पूर्वार्धिकम्, दक्षिणार्धम् or दक्षिणार्धिकम् ॥

The word पर is used in the sūtra in order to prevent ambiguity. Had the sūtra stood merely as दिक्पूर्वपशाद् इप्, it might have meant (I.1.68), 'Ardha preceded by the word दिक् takes इप् also', for then स्वरूपविधि would have applied, and दग्ध जातः would have taken the affix.

ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादश्च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्राम-जनपद-एकदेशात्-अश्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिक्पूर्वपशादित्येव । ग्रामैकदेशवापिनो जनपदैकदेशवापिनश्च प्रातिपरिकादिक्पूर्वपशादर्थान्तादश्च ॥ प्रत्ययो भवतः शैबिकौ यतोपपत्तौ ॥

7. The affixes अश् and च come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant.

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपशात् is to be read into the sūtra. This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खट्वस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पूर्वार्धाः or पूर्वार्धिकाः "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country". So also दक्षिणार्धाः or दक्षिणार्धिकाः ॥ The word पूर्वार्द्धाः = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्धे भवाः and is a Taddhitārtha compound.

मध्यान्मः ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मध्यात्-मः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मध्यमध्यान्मः प्रत्ययो भवति शैबिकः ॥

वार्धिकम् ॥ आदिद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्धिकम् ॥ अवोपसोर्नोपच ॥

8. After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses.

This debars मध्य ॥ As मध्यः "middlemost".

Vdt:—So also after the word आदि ॥ As आदिः "Adam, or born in the beginning".

Vdt:—So also after the words भवत् and अयत्, the final स् being elided. As भवमयः, अयमयः ॥

अ सांप्रतिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-साम्प्रतिके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अकारः प्रत्ययो भवति मध्यमार्थासांप्रतिके आत्मासौ प्रत्ययार्थः ।

9. The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper.'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit'. As नातिरीचं नाति हृत्वे मध्यं काष्ठम् "the proper piece of wood--neither too long nor too short". मध्ये वैशाकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull". मध्यास्त्री "a proper wife".

द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वीपात्-अनुसमुद्रम-यञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसमीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्माद् यम् प्रत्ययो भवति द्वैषिकः ॥

10. The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea.

The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhādi (IV. 2. 133), and would have taken भञ्; and by sūtra IV. 2. 134, it would have taken डुम् also. The present sūtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'.

Thus द्वैष्यम् 'living on or relating to an island'. As द्वैष्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

Why do we say अनुसमुद्रं? Observe द्वैषकम् or द्वैषम् (IV. 2. 133 and 134). The word 'anu-samudra' is an Avyayibhāva compound (II. 1. 15).

कालादृठञ् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकात् ठम् प्रत्ययो भवति द्वैषिकः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time.

This debars भञ् ॥ The affix छ which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sūtra. Thus मासिकः 'monthly' भाद्वेमासिकः, 'bi-monthly', सांवत्सरिकः 'annual'.

The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix. As कावम्बपुष्पिकं, त्रैविपालिकम् ॥ The word काल governs all the subsequent sūtras upto 25. (तत्र जातः).

आद्धे शरद्ः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आद्धे-शरद्ः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दान् ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आद्धे अभिधेये शैषिकः ॥

12. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing आद्ध ॥

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). The word आद्धे means the 'funeral oblation'; and not अद्धावान् इक्षुः 'a faithful or believing person'. Thus शारदिकं आद्धं 'the autumnal Śrāddha'. When not meaning 'Śrāddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

विभाषा रोगातपयोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-रोग-आतपयोः (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगे आतपे चाभिधेये शरच्छब्दादङ् प्रत्ययो वा भवति शैषिकः ॥

13. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat.

Thus शारदिकी रोगः 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक आतपः 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'.

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारदं दधि 'the autumnal curd'. This ठञ् debars the क्तु अण् (IV. 3. 16).

निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निशा-प्रदोषाभ्याम्-च (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशाम्रदोषशब्दाभ्यां विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

14. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśā', and 'pradosha':

This makes optional, where by sūtra IV. 3. 11 ante, the ठञ् would have been obligatory. Thus नैद्यम् or नैद्यिकम् 'nocturnal'. प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

श्वसस्तुद् च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्वसः-तुद्-च- (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वः शब्दाद्विभाषा ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य च तुङागमो भवति ॥

15. The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुद् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix ल्यप् by sūtra IV. 2. 105. This sūtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes (tu and tyul affixes also by IV. 3. 23. Thus श्वस्-तुद्-न-ठञ् = शौवस्-न-न-न-ठञ् (VII. 3. 3) = शौवस्तिकः "belonging to to-morrow or ephemeral". Otherwise श्वस्थः and श्वस्तनः ॥

सन्धिवेलाद्यतुनक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्धि-वेलाद्, ऋतु-नक्षत्रेभ्यः,

अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

16. The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses,

after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism.'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sūtra. All the words must be expressive of time. This debars उम् ॥ The repetition of उम् debars उ also in the case of those words, which are Vṛiddha in this list (IV. 2. 114). Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) वैष्णवम्, शैशिरम् (3) तैषम, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ season and asterisms respectively.

The affix उम् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival, as संवत्सरे फले or पर्व ॥

1 संधिवेला, 2 संध्या, 3 अमावास्या, 4 ज्योतिषी, 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पञ्चमी, 7 पौर्णमासी, 8 प्रतिपद्, 9 संवत्सरात्कलपर्वणोः ॥

प्रावृष एण्यः ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-एण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषशब्दादेण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

17. The affix एण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष ॥

This debars the उम् of the last sūtra, though 'prāvṛish' is a season-denoting word. Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहकः "the cloud belonging to the rainy season."

वर्षाभ्यष्टक् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्षाभ्यः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दादठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

18. The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars उम् of IV. 3. 16. Thus वर्षिकमनुलेपनम् । The इक् has the force of साधु &c of IV. 3. 43 here.

छन्दासि ठक् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दासि-(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्षाशब्दात् छन्दासि विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

19. In the Chhandas, the word 'varshâ' takes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

This debars ठक्. The form will be the same, but there will be difference in accent. As नभश्च नभस्यश्च वर्षाकावृत् ॥ The word क्वृत् here means "month." i. e. Nabha and Navasya are two rainy months.

वसन्ताच्च ॥ २० ॥ वसन्तात्-च-(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसन्तशब्दात् छन्दासि विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति शैषिकः ॥

20. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word 'vasanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus मधुश्च माधवश्च वैसन्तिकावृत् ॥

हेमन्ताच्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेमन्तात्-च-(ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च छन्दसि विषये कञ् प्रत्ययो भवति वैयक्यः ॥

21. In the Chhandas, the affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'hemanta.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 16). Thus सहस्रञ्च सहस्रस्यञ्च हेमन्तिकावृत् ॥ The making of two separate Sûtras of 20 and 21, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of word हेमन्त only is taken.

सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च ॥ २२ ॥ एदा ने ॥ सर्वत्र-अण्-च-तलोपः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेमन्तशब्दाच्च प्रत्ययो भवति तत्सन्निधौ च आस्य तकारलोपः ॥

22. The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त् of 'hemanta' is elided.

Thus हेमन् वासः 'wintery residence.' हेमन्मुपलेपनम् ॥

The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sūtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the secular literature.

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sūtra IV. 3. 16 as हेमन्ती पङ्क्तिः but there is no elision of त् there. Thus there are three forms हेमन्तः (IV. 3. 16), हेमन्तिकं (IV. 3. 21) and हेमनम् ॥

सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेव्ययेभ्यस्त्युलौ तुदच ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सायम्-चिरम्-प्राह्णे-प्रगे-अव्ययेभ्यः-त्यु-त्युलौ-तुद-च- ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्थ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यश्च दुपलौस्तस्तयोस्तुदच ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चिरपरुत्पपरिभ्यस्त्रो वक्तव्यः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ प्रगत्य छन्दसि गन्तोपश्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अमपश्चाद्विभक् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्ताद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

23. After the words सायं 'at eve', चिरं 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल्ल and their augment is तुद् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also. Thus सायं-न-त्यु = सायं-न-तुद-न-त्यु = सायंतनम् (VII. 1. 1) 'belonging to the evening'. चिरंतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रागेतनम् 'what is of the early morn'.

The word सायं is a word ending in न् and is an Indecidable. These



affixes would also come by virtue of its being an Indeclinable, after that साह्ये ॥ The present साह्ये is derived from the root सृ by adding the affix णम् ॥ It always ends in ह् when these affixes are added. The word चिर always ends in ह् ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रणे always end in ह् ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are शेषादनम् 'belonging to the night'. दिवादनम् 'belonging to the day'.

*Vdt* :—The affix ण comes after the words चिर, पदम् and वरारि ॥ As चिराह्णम्, पदह्णम्, and वरारिह्णम् ॥

*Vdt* :—The न of प्रण in elided in the Chhandas before this affix ण. as, प्रह्णम् ॥

*Vdt* :—The affix णिन् comes after कम्, भादि and पमाह्; as, मणिन्, भादिन् and पमिन् ॥

*Vdt* :—So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिन् ॥

The difference between त्नु and त्नुल is in accent, Thus साह्यन्तेन and साह्यन्तेन, चिरन्तेन and चिरन्तेन, प्राह्णेन्तेन and प्राह्णेन्तेन, प्रणेन्तेन, प्रणेन्तेन, दिवातेन and दिवातेन, शेषातेन and शेषातेन ॥

विभाषापूर्वाद्धापराद्धाभ्याम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा-पूर्वाद्ध-अपराद्धाभ्याम्-  
(दुह-दुहलौ-तुह-च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णापराह्णचक्षाभ्यां विभाषा दुपदुपलौ प्रत्ययो भवत, स्तुह च तथोपगमः ॥

24. Optionally after the words पूर्वाह्ण and अपराह्ण, there are the affixes द्यु and द्युल् and their augment is तुह ॥

In the alternative द्यु of IV. 3. 11 also occurs. As पूर्वाह्णेन्तेनम्, अपराह्णेन्तेनम् with त्नु, or पूर्वाह्णिकम् अपराह्णिकम् with त्नाल्. With त्नुल. we have पूर्वाह्णेन्तेन and अपराह्णेन्तेन ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI. 3. 17. When the word is taken as incapable of having the case-affix, we have, पूर्वाह्णेन्तेन or पूर्वाह्णेन्तेनः ॥

तत्रजातः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-जातः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणारयो धादयश्च प्रत्ययाः प्रकृतात्तेषामतः प्रभृत्यर्थाः समर्थविभक्तयश्च निदिश्यन्ते ॥ तथेति सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'.

The affixes अण् &c. ष &c. have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them. See IV. 2. 92. This sūtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added. Thus सुत्रेजातः = सुत्र + अण् = लोत्रः 'born in Srughna'. So also माथुरः 'born in Mathura', औत्सः 'born in Utsa', औदपानः 'born in Udapāna',

राष्ट्रिकः (IV. 2. 93), अवारपापीनः (IV. 2. 93) शाकलिकः (IV. 2. 117), माम्बाः (IV. 2. 94), मामीनः (IV. 2. 94), काशेयकः (IV. 2. 95) भौम्भेयकः (IV. 2. 95).

प्रावृषष्टप् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रावृषः-ठप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रावृषश्चात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. After the word प्रावृषद् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ठप् in the sense of produced therein.

This debars ण्य of sūtra IV. 3. 17. The ण् of ठप् is for the sake of accent. प्रावृषि जातः = प्रावृषकः 'produced in the rainy season'.

संज्ञायां शरदो बुञ् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-शरदाः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरच्छब्दात्सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix बुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein,' the whole word being a name.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus शारदका इर्भाः 'the grass called Śāradaka'. शारदका बुञ्माः 'the pulse called Śāradaka.'

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe शारद् सस्यम् 'the autumnal crop.'

According to some, the word संज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sūtras up to IV. 3. 38.

पूर्वाह्णापराह्णाद्रार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्कराद् बुन् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वाह्ण-अपराह्ण-आर्द्रा-मूल-प्रदोष-अवस्कराद्-बुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वाह्णादिभ्यः ण्वेद्यो बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाञ्च ॥

28; The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूल, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name.

Thus पूर्वाह्णकः, अपराह्णकः This debars IV. 3. 24. आर्द्रकः, मूलकः ॥ This debars अण् of IV. 3. 16. प्रदोषकः This debars ठप् of IV. 3. 14. अवस्करकः This debars the general अण् affix.

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed.

पथः पन्थ च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथः-पन्थ-च (बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथिषाश्चाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति वा तच्च जात इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

29. The affix बुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and thereby in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जातः = पन्थकः 'produced in the way.'

This debars the अञ् ॥

अमावास्याया चा ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावास्यायाः-चा-(बुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्यायाश्चाद्बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च आत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

30. The affix बुन् comes optionally after the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This debars अञ् of IV. 3. 16. Thus अमावास्याकः or अमावास्याः ॥ This affix बुन् is applied to the word अमावस्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्वत्त्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place". Thus अमावस्यकः or अमावस्यः ॥

अ च ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावास्यायाश्चादकारः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च आत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

31. And the affix अ also is added to the word amāvāsyā, in the sense of 'born therein'.

This adds a third affix to the बुन् and अञ् already given. Thus अमावास्याः, अमावास्याकः, अमावास्याः ॥ So also after the word अमावस्य, as अमावस्यः, अमावस्यकः and अमावस्यः ॥

सिन्धुपकराभ्यां कन् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-अपकराभ्याम्-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुपकराभ्याम्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च आत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

32. After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'.

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhādi class and takes अञ् and बुन् (IV. 2. 133); and अपकर would have also taken अञ् under the general rule. This sūtra debars these affixes. Thus सिन्धुकः, अपकरकः ॥

अणञौ च ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अञौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिन्धुपकराभ्याम्भ्यां ययासंयमणमौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तच्च आत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

33. And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'.

Thus सैन्धवः and आपकरः ॥

अविष्टाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्ताविशाखापादायहुलाल्लुक् ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अविष्टा-फल्गुनी-अनुराधा-स्वाति-तिष्य-पुनर्वसु-हस्त-विशाखा-अपादा-अ-हुलात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अविष्टादिभ्यः षष्ठ्येभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्य आगतस्य जातार्ये लुक् भवति ॥

वास्तकीयः ॥ लुक्प्रकरणे चित्रारोवतीरोहिणीभ्यः स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कल्गुन्यपादाभ्यां दानी वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अविद्यापादाभ्यां छापि वक्तव्यः ॥

34. The affix denoting 'born therein' is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishthâ', 'phalgunî', 'anurâdhâ', 'svâtî', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hasta', 'visâkhâ', 'ashâdha', and 'bahula' all denoting asterisms.

The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I. 2. 49. Thus अविद्यासु जातः = अविद्यः 'produced under Śravishthâ'. So also कल्गुनः, अनुराधा, स्वातिः, तिष्यः, पुनर्वसुः, हस्तः, विषाखः, अषाढः, बहलः ॥ The 'Bahula' is another Name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥

Vartt:—So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine. Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine affix which would have been elided after the two words Revatî and Rohiṇî, by I. 2. 49. is reordained by IV. 1. 41, because these words belong to गौरादि class.

Vartt:—The affixes इ and अन् come respectively after कल्गुनी and अषाढौ in forming the Feminine derivatives. As कल्गुनी (IV. 1. 15) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning.

Vartt:—The affix छप् also comes after 'Śravishthâ' and 'ashâdha' As आविष्टीयः and आषाढीयः ॥

स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाश्च ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थानान्त-गोशाल-खरशालात्-च-(लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्थानान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् गोशालशङ्खशालखरशालशङ्खाज्जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य लुग् भवति ॥

35. There is luk-elision of the affix denoting born therein after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gosâla' and 'kharasâla'.

Thus गोस्थाने जातः = गोस्थानः, अश्वस्थानः, गोशालः, खरशालः ॥

वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्छतमिषजो वा ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वत्स-शाला, अभिजित्-अश्वयुक्-शतमिषजो-वा (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वत्सशालादिभ्यः परस्य जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य लुग्वा भवति ॥

36. There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit', 'asvayuk', and 'satabhik'.

As वत्सशालायां जातः = वत्सशालः or वात्सशालः, अभिजित् or आभिजितः, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुजः, शतमिक् or शतमिषजः ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken. These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sūtra.

नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्यः-बहुलम् (लुक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रेभ्य उत्तरस्य जातार्ये प्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुग्भवति ॥

37. There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after an asterism.

Thus रोहिणः or रोहिणः (IV. 3. 16) मृगशिरा or मार्गशीर्षः (IV. 3. 16).

कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत-लब्ध-क्रीत-कुशलाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there' 'bought there' 'dexterous therein'.

Thus कौशलः may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skillful in Srughna". So also the words मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

प्रायभवः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राय-भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्तिपत्रिकात्प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'.

The word प्रायः means something less than all i. e. abundant. Thus कौशलः 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = कुशले प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति. So also मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

This sūtra may appear to be superfluous as being covered by the more comprehensive sūtra सचभवः (IV. 3. 53). If प्रायभवः be explained as अनित्यभवः i. e. what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference.

उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्टक् ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपजानु-उपकर्ण-उपनीवे-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपजानुवादिभ्यः षष्ठ्येभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रायभव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'mostly to be found there,' after the words 'upajānu,' 'upakarna,' and upanīvi,' being in the 7th case in construction.

This debars अण् &c. Thus औपजानुकः, औपकर्णिकः औपनीविकः ।

संभूते ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्तिपत्रिकात् संभूतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix डी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construc-

tion, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein.'

Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word संभूत, all the other words of the sūtra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms. The word संभूत does not mean in this sūtra 'origin' or 'existence', for the word ज्ञात and भव already express that notion. It here means 'suitableness' 'adequacy' i. e. भवकल्पितः and प्रमाणातिरेकः ॥

Thus लुप्ते संभवादि = सौम्यः 'what is suited to the country of Sruḡṇa.' So also मायुर, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The word तत्र is understood here also.

कोशाद्दम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कोशात्-दम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कोशाद्दम् इह प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र संभूतइत्यस्मिन्विषये ॥

42. The affix दम् comes after the words कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that.'

This debars म् ॥ Thus कोशे संभूतं = कोशेयं वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes.'

The word कोश means 'cocoon.' कोशेयः may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon,' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon. The word कोशेय is however कूट and means 'silken.' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath,' as a sword, though kośa means 'sheath' also. This sūtra would have been more properly placed after IV. 3. 134, under the heading of विकार rather than of संभूतः ॥

In fact after the sūtra एण्या-दम् (IV. 3. 159), the addition of कोशाद् would have been more appropriate.

कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कालात्-साधु-पुष्प्यत्-पच्यमा-

नेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालविशेषवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यः साध्वादिष्वर्थेषु यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good,' 'flowering' or 'ripening therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते साधुः = हेमन्तः 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हेमन्तः प्राकारः शैशिमनुलेपम् ॥ So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्यः कुन्दलताः 'vernal creepers i. e. which flower in spring', वैष्ण्वः पादलाः ॥ So also शरदि पच्यन्ते = शारदाः शालवः 'the grains that ripen in autumn'. वैष्ण्वा यवाः 'the barley that ripens in summer'.

This sūtra teaches the base and the sense of the affix. It does not directly teach the affix. The above illustrations are examples of the affix म् &c.

उत्ते च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्ते, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिति च । सप्तमीसमर्थोक्तालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादुत्ते यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'.

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते - हेमन्ता वषाः 'the barley sown in autumn.' मैष्णा व्रीहवः ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra in which the anuvṛitti of उप्य only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sūtra.

आश्वयुज्या वुञ् ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आश्वयुज्याः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आश्वयुजीष्यार् वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥

45. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars वृञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या मुष्ठाः - आश्वयुजका भाषाः 'the pulse sown in Āśvayuj.' It is the name of the full-moon in the Asterism of Āśvini. Āśvayuj and Āśvini are the same. Some texts read अश्वनी instead of अश्विनी ॥

ग्रीष्मसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-सन्तात्-अन्यतरस्याम्- (वुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मसन्तघट्टाभ्यामन्यतरस्यां वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति उत्तरे ॥ ऋत्वणोपवाहः ॥

46. The affix वुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grishma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown'.

This debars वृञ् (IV. 3. i6). Thus मैष्णम् or मैष्णकम् सत्त्वम् 'the crop sown in summer'. वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

देयमृणे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देयम्-ऋणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तमीसमर्थात्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादेयमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ययाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यद् देयमृणे चेत् तद् भवति ॥

47. After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due'; provided that the thing due be 'debt'.

Thus मासे देयमृणं - मासिकं "a debt due in a month". मार्षमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम् ॥ Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt'. Observe मासदेया निष्ठा where no affix is added.

कलाप्यश्वत्थयववुसाद्वुन् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि, अश्वत्थ, यव, वुसात्, वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि अश्वत्थ यववुस इत्येतेभ्यः कालवाचिभ्यः सप्तमीसमर्थेभ्यो देयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यववुस denoting time

and being in the 7th case in construction.

The words कलापी &c are words which indirectly denote time. Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the aśvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थः ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवकुस 'barley-chaff'. Thus कलापि-निकाले देयमृणं = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i. e. mating or rainy season) tails.' अश्वत्थकम् and यवकुसकम् ॥

ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्बुञ्च ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीष्म-अवर-समात्, बुञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीष्मावरसमच्छायां बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति देयमृणइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

49. The affix बुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due' after the words 'grīshma' and 'avarasama'.

This debarb the अण् and ङम् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृणं = ग्रीष्मकम् ॥ So also आवरसमकम् ॥ This affix causes Vṛiddhi, while बुञ् would not have done it. Hence the separate affix. The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year'. The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिनां संवत्सराणामाद्यवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न वचम् ॥

संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ङञ्च ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ संवत्सर-आग्रहायणीभ्यां-ङ-ञ्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संवत्सरग्रहायणीशब्दाभ्यां ङञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, अकाराद् ङञ्चदेयमृणमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संवत्सरास्फलपर्वणोरिति पठ्यते ॥

50. The affix ङञ् also (as well as बुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'agrāhāyaṇī' in the sense of 'debt due.'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृणं = सांवत्सारिकं, and सांवत्सरकं ॥ आग्रहायणिकं or आग्रहायणकं ॥

The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhiveladi Class (IV. 3. 16) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant. The present sūtra enjoins ङञ् when 'debt' is indicated.

व्याहरति मृगः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्याहरति मृगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालवाधिनः सप्तमीसमर्थाप्यातिपदिकाद् व्याहरति मृगः इत्येतस्मिन्निषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then wanders', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast.

Thus निशायां व्याहरति मृगः = नैशः "an animal that wanders at night." So also प्राहोषः or प्राहोषिकः (I V. 3. 14) 'a brute that yells in the morning.'



Why do we say वृत्तः 'a beast' ? Observe निशाब्दां व्याहरति उक्तः ॥ Here there is no affixing. The word व्याहरति also means 'to make noise.' The Sūtra may, therefore, also be translated as : "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV. 1. 83) comes in expressing a wild beast who makes noise at that time".

तदस्य सोढम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्य-सोढम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थाल्कालवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकारत्येति वृत्तपर्ये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत्प्रथमासमर्थे सोढम्येत्तद्वचि ॥

52. An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'.

The word कालात् is understood here also. तद्=that: सोढम्=जितम् or अभ्यस्तं "endured or habituated". Thus निशा सहचरितमभ्ययनं=निशा "reading by night". तन् सोढमत्त्व छात्रत्व=भैद्यः or भैद्यकः 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night'. So प्रासेषिकः or प्रासेषः ॥

तत्र भवः ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, भवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थान् व्याप्प्रातिपदिकारत्वं इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

The anuvṛitti of कालात् ceases. The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth': because the sense of 'birth' is taught in sūtra तच्च जातः (IV. 3. 25). Thus, वृत्ते भवः=सौष्ठवः "who stays in Srughna". मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥

The repetition of तच्च in the sūtra though its annuvṛitti could have been drawn from the previous sūtras, is for the sake of stopping the annuvṛitti of तदस्य ॥

दिगादिभ्यो यत् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिगादिभ्यः-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिग् इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपकारसंज्ञायात् ॥

54. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c.

This debars अष् and छ ॥ As दिशि भवं=दिश्यम् 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम् ॥

The words मुख and जयन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added. They must refer to non-corporeal or abstract objects. As सेनामुखं 'who stays in the van of the army'. सेनाजयनम् 'who stays in the rear of the army'. In

fact, the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army. The word इवक् takes this affix, when the word so formed is a Name. As इवक्या = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औदकी मत्स्यः ॥

1 दिष्ट, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग, 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाव्य ( धाव्या ) 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पदि-  
न्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 दया, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देव\*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20  
मेघ, 21 दूय, 22 उदकास्तज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वंश, 25 वेद्य ( विद्य ) 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28  
अनुवृत्तः ॥

शरीरावयवाच्च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शरीर-अवयवात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शरीरावयववाचिनः प्रातिपदिकाद् प्रत्यययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

55. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body.

This debars अण् ॥ As इन्तेषु भवं = इन्त्यम् 'dental i. e. what stays there, कर्ण्यम्, ओष्ठ्यम् ॥ So also पादे भवं = पद्यं (VI. 3. 53), नासिकायां भवं = नस्यम् ॥

इतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्यस्त्यहेर्दञ् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इति-कुक्षि-कलशि-वस्ति-अ-  
स्ति-अहेः ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

56. The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'driti'. 'kukshi', 'kalasi', vasti' 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus शर्तैयम् 'what stays in a leathern bag', कौशेयम्, कालशेयम्, वास्तेयम्, आस्तेयम् and आहियम् ॥ आहियम् is the name of a poison. The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here. Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिशीरा गौः, अस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यः-अण्- च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रीवाभ्यामण्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्दृञ्च, तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

57. The affix अण् also (as well as ढञ्) comes after the word 'grivā' in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55) ग्रीवासु भवं = प्रवेयम् or पेषम् ॥ The word ग्रीवा means blood-vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sôtra.

गम्भीराज्यः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गम्भीरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गम्भीरशब्दाद् ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहिर्देशपञ्चजनेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ अनुर्मासाद् यत्ते ऽणो वक्तव्यः ॥

58. The affix ज्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhîra'.

This debars अव् ॥ गम्भीरे नव = गाम्भीर्वन् 'gravity'.

*Vart.*—So also after बहिः, देव and वंचजन. As बाह्यन्, देव्यन् and वंचजन्यन् ॥ The final of बहिस् is elided by the vārtika under IV. 1. 85. The word 'daivya' could be also formed under another Vārtika of the same.

*Vart.*—The affix ſya comes after chaturmāsa in the sense of a sacrifice; as, चातुर्मास्यानि व्रतानि, चातुर्मास्यो यज्ञः, otherwise चातुर्मासः ॥

अव्ययीभावाच्च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव्ययीभावात्-च ( इयः ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावसंज्ञकात् प्रातिपदिकाच्च अयः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

59. After an Avyayībhāva Compound, the affix इय is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अव् ॥ The affix इय however, does not come after every Avyayībhāva Compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the Gaṇapāṭha.

Thus परिमुखं भवं = परिमुख्यम्, So also परिहृन्मध्यम् ॥ Not so भौपकुलम्, the word उपकुल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहृन्, 3 पयोध, 4 पशुल, 5 भौपमूल, 6 खल, 7 परिसीर, 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्यल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपय, 13 अनुसङ्ग, 14 अनुसिल, 15 अनुशीत, 16 अनुमाच, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुदुप, 19 अनुबंध, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 प्रतिघात, 22 अनुसाध ॥

अन्तःपूर्वपदादृच्छ ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः-पूर्व-पदात्- ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्ययीभावादित्येव । अन्तःपदस्य विभक्त्यर्थे समस्यते, । तत्पूर्वपदादव्ययीभावाद्ठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ समानपदादृच्छम् वक्तव्यः ॥	वार्तिकम् ॥ तद्विधेयः ॥
वा० ॥ अध्यात्मादिभ्यश्च ॥	वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वरेखाच्च ठञ् वक्तव्यः ॥
वा० ॥ ऊर्ध्वरेखाच्च ॥	वा० ॥ लोकोत्तरपदाच्च ॥
वा० ॥ मुख्यपार्श्वपदाभ्यां तसन्ताभ्यामीवः प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः ॥	
वा० ॥ जनपरयोः कुक्च ॥	वा० ॥ मध्यपदादीवः ॥
वा० ॥ मण्णीयो च प्रत्ययो वक्तव्यो ॥	वा० ॥ मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मात् ॥
वा० ॥ स्थास्रो लुग्वक्तव्यः ॥	वा० ॥ अजिनास्ताच्च ॥

*Kārikā* समानस्य तद्विधेयं अध्यात्मादिषु चेप्यते ।  
ऊर्ध्वरेखाच्च रेखाच्च लोकोत्तरपदाच्च च ॥  
मुखपार्श्वतसोरीयः कुक्चजनस्य परस्य च ॥  
इयः कार्योय मध्यस्य मण्णीयो प्रत्ययो तथा ॥  
मध्यो मध्यं दिनं चास्मात्स्थानो लुगजिनास्ताच्च ॥

60. After an Avyayībhāva compound, having the word अन्तर as prior term, the affix ठञ् is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्देहिकम्, आन्तर्गेहिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—The affix ठञ् comes after समान, as समाने भवं = सामानिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—So also after a word beginning with समान, as, सामानप्रामिकम्, सामान देशिकम्.

*Vart.*—So also after the words अभ्यात्न, &c as, आभ्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अभ्यात्मादि is Ākṛitigaṇa.

*Vart.*—So also after ऊर्ध्वन्मः as, और्ध्वन्मिकः ॥ The word 'ūrdhva' is a synonym of ऊर्ध्वम् ॥

*Vart.*—So also ऊर्ध्वदेह, as और्ध्वदेहिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—So also after a compound having the word लोक as second term ; as, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥

*Vart.*—The words मुख्य and पार्श्व ending in त्सु, take the affix ईय; as, मुख्यतीयम्, पार्श्वतीयम् ॥

*Vart.*—The affix ईय comes after जन and पर with the augment कुक्, as जनकीयम्, परकीयम् ॥

*Vart.*—The affix ईय comes after मध्य, as, मधीयः ॥

*Vart.*—So also the affix मण् and मीय come after मध्य; As. माध्यमम्, माध्यमीयम् ॥

*Vart.*—So also the affix दिनञ् ( दिनम् in Padamanjari ) comes after मध्य, whereby it be comes मध्यम् as माध्यन्दिनम् in माध्यन्दिन उपायति ॥

*Vart.*—There is luk-elision of the affix after the word स्थात्र, as, अभ्यवस्थाना ॥

*Vart.*—So also there is elision after the words ending in अग्निन, as वृकाग्निनः, सिंहाग्निनः

ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रामात्-परि-अनु- पूर्वात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रामाद्यन्ताराव्ययीभावात्परि अनु इत्येवंपूर्वाद्वठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

61. After the word 'grāma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayībhāva), there is the affix ठञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'.

This-debars अण् ॥ Thus पारिप्रामिकः, आनुप्रामिकः ॥

जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेश्छः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ जिह्वामूल-अङ्गुलेः- छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिह्वामूलचब्दावङ्गुलिचब्दाश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

62. After the words 'jihvāmūla', and 'anguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'.

This debars वत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus जिह्वाश्लीबत्, मंगुलीबत् ॥  
वर्गान्ताच्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्गान्तात्-च ( छ )

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गसंज्ञान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकाच्च छः प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषये भजोपवादः ॥

63. After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

This debars अन् ॥ As कवर्गायन्, चवर्गायन् ॥

अशब्दे यस्मावन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अशब्दे-यत्-सौ-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्गान्तादित्येव । अशब्दादन्यस्मिन्मन्त्रकार्ये वर्गान्ताप्रातिपदिकान्यतरस्यां बत्सौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

64. After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and सौ are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'.

As वासुदेववर्गः (by यत्), वासुदेववर्गीजः, (by सौ), and वासुदेववर्गीकः (by छ) ॥  
पुदिष्टिवर्गः 'वर्गीजः' or 'वर्गीकः' ॥

Of course, when the word means 'शब्द' it takes one affix only i.e. छ ; as कवर्गीय वर्गः 'a letter belonging to क class'.

कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्ण-ललाटात्-कन् अलङ्कारे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्णललाटशब्दाभ्यां कन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्विषयेऽलङ्कारेऽभिधेये ॥

65. The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karna' and 'lalât', the word denoting an ornament.

This debars यत् (IV. 3. 55). Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Why do we say 'denoting an ornament, ? Observe कर्ण्यन् 'what is in the ear', ललाट्यन् ॥

तस्य व्याख्यानइति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-व्याख्याने-  
इति-च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकाद्व्याख्याने अभिधेये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भवे च ॥

66. After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as, in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary'. The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः ॥ After such a name, being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added. The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानं as well as तच्चभव, the latter being read into the sūtra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानः = सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case-affixes'. So also तैङ्गः 'Tainga--a Commentary on Verbal affixes' कर्तः 'Kārta--a Commentary on kṛit affixes'. सौप &c. may also mean सुप्सु भवं &c.

Why do we say व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः 'after the name of the thing explainable'? The thing to be explained must be a Book, therefore, the affix will not apply to the name of a city &c. For example, if a model be made to describe the city of Pāṭaliputra, such a model will not be named after Pāṭaliputra by the addition of affix. Thus सुकोशत् is a modal giving a description of Pāṭaliputra. This will not be called Pāṭaliputram.

The anuvṛtti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavāda sūtras, and hence we have read the anuvṛtti of भव into this sūtra also.

बहुचोन्तोदात्तादृष् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुचः-अन्तोदात्तात् ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुचो व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकान्तोदात्ताद्भवव्याख्यानयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix ठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udātta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पात्वणत्तिकम् 'a commentary of the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण' ॥ नात्तानत्तिकम् 'a commentary on (अनन्त) udātta and anudātta (नन्त)' ॥ The radicals षत्वणस्व and नत्तानन्त are acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI. 1. 169)

Why do we say बहुचः 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपन्, तेढन् &c. A word of two syllables will take ठक् (IV. 3. 72). So the counter example must be of words of one syllable.

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe संहितन् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati-accent (VI. 2. 49)

क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतु-यज्ञेभ्यः, च ( ठञ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रतुभ्यो यज्ञेभ्यश्च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवव्याख्यानयोरर्थयोश्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix ठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu :—अग्निहोमिकः 'a commentary on a work on Agnishtoma sacrifices? वाजपेयिकः, राजसूयिकः ॥ yajña:—पाकयज्ञिकः, नावयज्ञिकः ॥

This sūtra refers to words which are not antodātta. The words 'vājapeya' and 'rājasūya' are acute in the middle.

The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i. e. 'a sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma-yajñas because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifices only. Thus पाञ्चौरानिकः, राघौरानिकः ॥

The sūtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word-forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I. 1. 68).

अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायेषु-एव-ऋषे, (ठञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋषिपुत्राः प्रवरानाध्यायानि वेभ्य ऋषिपुत्रेभ्यो भवभ्याख्यानयोरर्थयोऽडम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyāya only.

The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list. The word so formed means always an Adhyāya or Chapter of the work. The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः is understood in this sūtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi".

Thus वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा—वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vāsishṭhika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishṭha". वैश्वामित्रिकः 'a chapter of commentary on Viśvāmītra'.

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात् छन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ पौरोडाश-पुरोडाशात्-छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पौरोडाशसप्तस्य पुरोडाशसप्तस्य भवभ्याख्यानयोरर्थयोः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix छन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'pauroḍāśa' and 'puroḍāśa'.

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍāśa 'a sacred cake', are called पौरोडाश, the commentary on such pauroḍāśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिकः. Its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). A book on Puroḍāśa cake is called पुरोडाश; a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f. पुरोडाशिकी (IV. 1. 41). The ण of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV. 1. 41). The commentary here refers to the 'mantras' or verses relating to Puroḍāśa, and not to the sacrifice.

छन्दसो यदणौ ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-यत्-अणौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दः सप्तस्य व्याख्यानयोरर्थयोर्दणौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the word Chhandas.

This debars ङक् of the following sūtra. As छन्दस्यः or छान्सः ॥

ब्रह्मजुद्ब्राह्मणर्कप्रथमाध्वरपुरध्वरणनामाख्याताद् ठक् ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्मजु-  
ऋत्-ब्राह्मण-ऋक्-प्रथम-अध्वर-पुरध्वरण-नाम-आख्यातात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो व्याख्यातव्यनामभ्यो भवम्याख्यानयोरर्ययोश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix ठक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short द्र, and the words 'brahmana', 'rik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nama', 'akhyata' and 'namakhyata', being the names of explainable works.

This debars अण् and इम् ॥ 1. Dissyllabic:—रेटिकः, पाणुकः ॥ 2. Ending in द्र:—चातुर्होतृकः, पांचहोतृकः ॥ So also ब्राह्मणिकः, आर्थिकः, प्राथमिकः, आध्वरिकः, पौरध्वरिकः, नामिकः, आख्यातिकः, नामाख्यातिकः ॥

अणुगयनादिभ्यः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-अणुगयनादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणुगयनादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो भवम्याख्यानयोरर्ययोरण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the words 'rigayana' &c.

This debars इप्, इक् and छ ॥ आर्गयनः, पारम्याख्यानः ॥

The repetition of अण् in the sūtra, though the annuvṛitti of this affix was coming from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavāda rule to the words in this list. Thus वास्तुविद्यः ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 परम्याख्यान, 3 छन्दोगान, 4 छन्दोभाषा, 5 छन्दोविधिति, 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण, 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 ब्रह्मविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात, 16 उत्पाद, 17 उच्चाव, 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमिष, 22 क्षिप्ता, 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दोवि-  
जिनी 25 व्याख. ॥

तत आगतः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ततः, आगतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इति पञ्चमीसमर्थादागत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word being in 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'.

Thus ब्रह्मादागतः = सौलः 'what has come from Srughna'. मायुरः, राद्विषः ।

उगायस्थानेभ्यः ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ठक्-आयस्थानेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आय इति स्वामिभाष्यो भाग उच्यते स यस्मिन्नुत्पद्यते तदायस्थानम् । आयस्थानवाचिभ्यः प्रा-  
तिपदिकेभ्यश्चक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

75. After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix ठक् in the sense of 'come thence'.



The word भाग means what is the share appropriated by the lord. The source of भाग is called भागस्थान ॥

This debars अञ् and छ ॥ Thus शौक्छादिकः 'what is derived from custom house'. आकरिकम् 'revenue derived from mines'.

The plural in the sūtra prevents Svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68).

शुण्डिकादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ ७६ ॥ शुण्डिकादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त भागवत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

76. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c.

This debars इक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिकः 'excise-revenue'. कार्कणः ॥

The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV. 3. 73, बापक-बाधनार्थम् ॥ As औदधानः ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्यण्डित, 4 उदधान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्थ, 7 श्रुति, 8 कृष्ण, 9 पर्व. ॥

विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यो बुञ् ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विद्या-योनि-संबन्धेभ्यः-बुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिकृतः संबन्धो देवां ते विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः ॥ तद्वाचिभ्यः बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त भागवत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

77. The affix बुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin.

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e. g. father and son) are called विद्यायोनिसंबन्धाः ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix बुञ्. This debars अण् and छ. Thus उपाध्यायादगतम्-औपाध्यायकम् 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher.' सेव्यकम्, आचार्यकम् ॥ So also योनिसंबन्धः as मातामहकः 'wealth derived from a maternal grand-father.' पितामहकः, मातुलकः ॥

श्रुतश्रुञ् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुतः-उञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्य इत्येव । ऋकारान्तेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो विद्यायोनिसंबन्धवाचिभ्यश्च ऋ प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त भागवत इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥

78. The affix उञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood.

This debars इम् ॥ Thus होतुरागतम्-होतुकम् 'derived from Hotri' होतुकम् ॥ So also of 'blood,' as :—भ्रातृकम्, स्वातृकम्, मातृकम् ॥

The ह् in ह्त् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ऋ ॥

When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed. As, सावित्रम् ॥

पितुर्यच्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पितुः-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पितृशब्दाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति अकारादुच्यते तत भागत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

79. The affix यत् as well as उच् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitri.'

Thus पितुरागतं = पैतृकं or पित्र्यम् (VII. 4. 27. and VI. 4. 148) 'paternal—i.e. wealth inherited from father.'

गोत्रादङ्गवत् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्रात्-अङ्गवत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रप्रत्ययान्ताप्यातिपरिकारङ्गवत्प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति तत भागत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

80. After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark.'

The word गोत्र in the sūtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant-denoting affix in general. The affixes denoting अङ्ग are taught in IV. 3. 126 and 127. The affix वुम् of IV. 3. 126 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sūtra, not merely the affix अम् of IV. 3. 127, denoting, 'this is his mark.'

Thus औपगवानामङ्गः = औपगवकः 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu.' So also कापटवकः, नाडायनकः, चारायनकः ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवन्त्ये भागतम् = औपगवकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायनकम् (formed by वुम् IV. 3. 126).

Similarly वैक्, गार्गः, दाक्षः formed by अम् of IV. 3. 127 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas, the Gārgyas, the Dākshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c. The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity,' as in कालेश्यो भववत् (IV. 2. 34), चरणेश्यो धमवत् (IV. 2. 46).

हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-मनुष्येभ्यः, अन्यतरस्या-म्-रूप्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्चान्यतरस्यां रूप्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत भागत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

81. The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause,' or to the name of a man viewed as a cause.

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes.' हेतु means cause or instrument. Thus समासगतं = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV. 2. 138 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause.' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men

also देवदत्तकल्पम् or देवदत्तम् (IV. 1. 83) 'what originates with देवदत्तः', यज्ञदत्तकल्पम् or यज्ञदत्तम् ॥

The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्यः is in the plural in the sūtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (I. 1. 68) does not apply here.

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II. 3. 23: and according to the jñāpaka in the present sūtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु, ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II. 3. 25.

मयद् च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-च्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यश्च मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तत आगत इत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

82. After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'.

Thus सममयद्, विषममयद्, देवदत्तमयद्, यज्ञदत्तमयद् ॥

The द् of मयद् indicates that the feminine of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondencce (I. 3. 10) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्वतरत्वां कल्पमवदो ॥

प्रभवति ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत इत्येव । पञ्चमीसमर्थान् व्यापृणातिपदिकाल्प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये दयाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

83. After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th. case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'.

The word ततः is understood in the sūtra. The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time. Thus हिमवतः प्रभवति = हिमवती "The Haimavati", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'. So also दारदी "The Dārādī" i. e. the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan. The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तच्च जातः; it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

विदूराशब्ज्यः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदूरात्-ज्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदूराशब्दाम् ज्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ततः प्रभवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

Karika

बालवायो विदूरं च प्रकृत्यन्तरमेव वा ।

न वै तत्रेति चेद्भ्रूयाज्जिस्त्रीवदुपाचरेत् ॥

84. The affix **य** comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'.

This debars **अण्** ॥ Thus **विदूरात् प्रभवति** = **वैदूर्यः** 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'. The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called **वालवाय** ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon. In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to **वालवाय**, when the latter word is replaced by **विदूर**; such substitute being only shown in the sûtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference. Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain. If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvarl.

**तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-गच्छति-पथि-दूतयोः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद्गच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति योऽसौ गच्छति पन्थात् चेत् स भवति दूतो वा ॥

85. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what goes thereto', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger.

Thus **सुप्रगच्छति** = **सौघ्नः** "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna." So also **मायुरः** ॥ The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna, be used for going.

Why do we say **पथिदूतयोः** "meaning a road or a messenger". Observe **सुप्रं गच्छति सार्यः** 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake'.

**अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभि-निष्क्रामति-द्वारम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** द्वितीयासमर्थादभिनिष्क्रामतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति यत् तदभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारं चेद् भवति ॥

86. An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'.

Thus **सौघ्नः** 'a gate which looks towards Srughna',—as a gate of Kânyakubja. So also **मायुरम्**, **राष्ट्रियम्** ॥

Objection. The sûtra would have stood better as **अभिनिष्क्रमणं द्वारं**, for by using **अभिनिष्क्रामति**, you make the word **द्वारं** as if it was a being endowed with sense.

**Ans.** This objection may be answered by saying that the gate is the well-known instrument (**करण**) to the action of **अभिनिष्क्रमणं**; and an instrument may be used as an agent to a verb: as **साश्वसिञ्छति** 'the sword cuts nicely.'

Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate"? Observe सुभद्रामभिहितम्  
पुरुषः 'a person faces towards Srughna'.

अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकृत्य-कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थ्याधिकृत्य कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वयाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति वक्तव्यं ग्रन्थे-  
स्स भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुभाष्यायिकार्यस्य प्रत्ययस्य बहुलम् ॥

87. An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject,' when the thing made is a 'book.'

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to.' Thus सुभद्रामधिकृत्य कृतोऽग्रन्थः—सौभद्रः 'Saubhadra or a book relating to the history of Subhadra.' So also गौरिनिबन्धः, यावत्तः, किरातासुनीयम् ॥

Why do we say ग्रन्थे 'when meaning a book'? Observe, सुभद्रामधिकृत्यकृतः  
प्रासादः 'a palace built in memory of Subhadra'; where there is no affix.

Vart:—The affix is elided diversely when the book is a story. Thus वासवदत्तामधि कृत्य कृता ऽऽ वयायिका—वासवदत्ता "Vasavadattā, a story relating to Vāsavadattā." सुमनोहरा, उर्वशी ॥ Sometimes the elision does not take place, as भैरवी ॥

शिशुकन्दयमसमद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिशु-कन्द-यमस-  
म-द्वन्द्व-इन्द्र-जननादिभ्यः-छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शिशुकन्दादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ अणोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इन्द्रे देवासुपादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः ॥

88. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz 'sisukranda,' 'yamasabha,' the Dvandva-compounds, and the words 'indra-janana' &c.

The word छ (IV. 3. 85) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sūtra. This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुकन्दीयः 'a book treating of the crying of infants.' यमसभः 'a book relating to the court of Yama'. A Dvandva-Compound: as, अभिद्राक्षणीयः, इत्येनकपोतीयः, शब्दार्थसंबन्धीयम् प्रकरणं, वाक्यपदीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words. They are ākritigaṇa, and must be determined by usage. Thus इन्द्रजननीयम्, प्रद्युम्नागमनीयम् &c.

Vart:—Prohibition should be stated in the case of the Dvanda-Compounds देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् 'the book of the wars of the Gods and Demons.' राक्षसुरम् गोणमुखम् ॥

The words सिधुक्त्वं and वनसम् might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sūtra, is merely for the sake of amplification.

सोऽस्य निवासः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः-अस्य-निवासः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठपर्यं यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति अथप्रथमासमर्थे निवासश्चेत्त्वमवति ॥

89. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case. अस्य 'his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case. निवासः, shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place. निवास means "a country i. e. where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

सुप्तो निवासोऽस्य-सौप्तः 'a present dweller of Srughna', मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

अभिजनश्च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिजनः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्येत्येव । स इति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठपर्यं यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति अथप्रथमासमर्थमभिजनश्चेत्त्वमवति ॥

90. After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'.

The difference between निवासः and अभिजनः is this. Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling-place. Where his ancestors (अभिजनाः) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode'. Thus सौप्तः 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'. मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः ॥ The separation of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, in which the anuvṛtti of 'abhijana' only runs.

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधजीविभ्यः-छः-पर्वते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोऽस्याभिजन इति वर्तते । आयुधजीविभ्य इति तार्क्ष्ये चतुर्थी, पर्वत इति प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । पर्वतवाचिनः प्रथमासमर्थादभिजनार्थेति षष्ठपर्यं छः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms.

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms. The phrase सोऽस्याभिजनः is to be read into the sūtra. Thus हृदगोलः पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां-हृदगोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hridgola mountain'. So also अन्धकवर्सीयाः, रोहितगिरीयाः ॥

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्यः ? Observe मात्स्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणाः "the Brahmanas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains". Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe. सांकाश्यका आयुधजीविनः ॥

शाण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्यः ॥ ९२ ॥ शाण्डिकादिभ्यः, ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाण्डिक इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्निषये । अणोरपवादः ॥

92. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शाण्डिक &c.

This debars अच् &c. Thus शाण्डिकः, सार्वसेनः &c.

1 शाण्डिक, 2 सार्वसेन 3 सर्वकेष, 4 एक, 5 एत, (सद), 6 एक, 7 अहम्, 8 बोध.

सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्यो ञ्णञौ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्यः, अच्-अञौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिशब्दः प्रत्येकनभिसंभज्यते । सिन्धादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तक्षशिलादिभ्यश्च यथासंख्यमणञौ प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्निषये ॥

93. The affixes अच् and अञ come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshasila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'.

Thus सिन्धुः, सार्वसेनः ॥

Many of the words occurring in Sindhu-class, are found in Kachchh-Adi class (IV. 2. 133) also. Those words would have taken अच् by sūtra IV. 2. 133. The present sūtra prevents the affixing of वृष् (IV. 2. 134) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sūtra IV. 2. 134, when the further significance of अभिजनः is added to them.

So also ताक्षशिला, वात्सोदरणः &c.

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्ण, 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 सार्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस), 10 हरि (हर), 11 गान्धका (गन्धिका), 12 कुलून, 13 विरसा. ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वात्सोदरण, 3 कैमेरु (कौमेरु), 4 मामणी, 5 छगल, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 9 किनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्यत, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक.

तूदीशालातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्डञ्यकः ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूदी-शालातुर-वर्मती-कूचवारात्, ढक्-छण्-ढञ्-यकः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूद्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः शब्देभ्यो यथासंख्यं चत्वार एव ढक् छण् ढञ् यक् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति सोऽस्याभिजन इत्येतस्मिन्निषये । अणोपवादः ॥

94. After the words तूदी, शालातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes ढक्, छण्, ढञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'.

This debars अच् ॥ Thus तूदीयः, शालातुरीयः, वर्मतेयः and कौचवार्धः ॥

भक्तिः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समर्थविभक्तिः प्रत्ययार्थानुवर्तते । अभिजन इति निवृत्तम् । स इति प्रथमासमर्थ इत्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्प्रथमासमर्थं भक्तिश्चेत्तद्वति ॥

95. An affix (IV. 1. 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'.

The word भक्ति in the sūtra means 'serving', 'worshipping' or 'loving'.

Thus बुद्धो भक्तिरस्य = बौद्धः 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'. So also मायुरः, राष्ट्रियः &c.

The anuvṛitti of the word अभिजनः ceases. The word छः and अस्य should be read into the sūtra.

अचित्ताद्देशकालादठक् ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचित्तात्, अदेश-कालात्, ठक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ देशकालम्यतिरिक्ताश्चित्तवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादङ्प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये;  
अणोपवादः ॥

96. After a word denoting a thing not having consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'.

This debars अङ्; and छ also. Thus अपूपामक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes'. शाष्कुलिकः, पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not having consciousness'? Observe देवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe बौद्धः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe मेर्षः 'who loves Summer'.

महाराजादठक् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ महाराजात्, ठक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ महाराजशब्दाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन् विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

97. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अङ् ॥ As महाराजिकः 'who loves or serves the Mahārāja'. The difference between this ठक् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in accent only.

वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां बुन् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वासुदेव-अर्जुनाभ्याम्, बुन् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ वासुदेवार्जुनशब्दाभ्यां बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽस्य भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छानोपवादः ॥

98. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after the words 'Vāsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अङ् ॥ Thus वासुदेवकः, अर्जुनकः ॥

Q. The word वासुदेव being the name of a Kshatriya would have taken बुम् by the next sūtra, and there is no difference here between बुन् and बुम्, why then include the word वासुदेव in this sūtra?



A. The word **वासुदेव** here is the name of God (in which all dwell **वसति भस्मिन्**) and not the designation of a Kshatriya.

By the general rule of compounds (II. 2. 34) a word of fewer vowels is placed first, and so Arjuna ought to have been placed first. The not doing so in this sūtra indicates (jñāpaka) the existence of this rule 'that a word denoting an object of reverence is placed first.'

**गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं बुम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यः-बहुलम्-बुम् ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्राख्येभ्यः क्षत्रियाख्येभ्यश्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बहुलं बुम् प्रत्ययो भवति सोऽयं भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । अणोपवादः ॥**

99 The affix **बुम्** comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration,' after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya.

This debars **भप्** and **छ**. Thus: **ग्लोचुकायनक** 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukāyani.' So also **भौपगवकः**, **कापटवकः ॥ Kshatriyas :—नाकुलकः, साहदेवकः, साम्बकः ॥**

The word **भाख्यां** in the sūtra indicates that the words should be the names of *well-known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession.

The word **बहुल** shows the non-universality of this rule. Thus **पाणिनो भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीयः, पौरवीयः ॥**

The word **गोत्र** does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general.

**जनपदिनां जनपद्वत्सर्वे जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥**

**जनपदिनाम्, जनपद्वत्, सर्वम्, जनपदेन, समान, शब्दानाम्, बहुवचने ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥ जनपदिनो ये बहुवचने जनपदेन समानशब्दास्तेषां जनपद्वत्सर्वे भवति प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च सोऽयं भक्तिरित्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ॥**

100. Of words denoting Princes (lit. who are lords of janapada) the base and affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words.

The words of this sūtra require a detailed analysis. **जनपदिनाम्** gen. plural of **जनपदिन्** meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i. e. Kshatriya-Princes, **बहुवचने** 'in the plural', **जनपदेन समान शब्दानां** 'the same form as the janapada denoting word', **जनपद्वत् सर्वम्** 'every thing is like jana-pada'. In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya Princes which in the plural have

the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word.' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV. 2. 124 &c. and those affixes will apply here. Thus मङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = भाङ्गकः formed by हुम् of Sûtra IV. 2. 125, meaning 'who loves the country of Angās' Similarly बाङ्गकः, सौङ्गकः पोङ्गकः ॥

Similarly मङ्गा क्षत्रिया, भक्तिरस्य = भाङ्गकः formed by the same affix हुम्, with this difference of meaning 'who loves the Kshatriyas called Angās'. So बाङ्गकः, सौङ्गकः &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriya Princes'; (janapadinām). Observe, पंचालं ब्राह्मणं भक्तिरस्य = पांचालः ॥ Here the general affix भञ् is employed.

The word सर्व is used in the sūtra to show that not only the affixes are the same, but the bases to which the affixes are added will be the same. In the plural, the Kshatriya and the Janapada bases have the same form, but in the singular and dual, the forms of Kshatriya-bases are different. Thus मद्रस्यापत्यं = sing. मद्रः (IV. 1. 170) dual, मद्रौ pl. मद्राः The form मद्राः denotes both 'the Kings or Kshatriyas of Madrás' as well as 'the country called Madrás'. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ So also in the singular and dual, मद्राः will be the base to which the affix will be added. Thus मद्रो भक्तिरस्य मद्रौ वा भक्तिरस्य = मद्रकः ॥ Similarly बाज्यं (from बाजि IV. 1. 171), as, बाज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य बाज्यो वा भक्तिरस्य = बाजिकः ॥

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janapada word'? Thus अनुषण्डो जनपदः, पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीवः ॥ Here Paurava and Anushaṇḍa have not the same sound.

The word बहुवचने is used in the sūtra, to indicate, that, though the समान शब्दता or 'the similarity of word-form', occurs in the plural number only, yet this atideśa rule applies to the same words in the singular and dual also. For in the plural, the form will be same, because there the Tadrāja affix is elided; but in the singular and dual, the Tadrāja affix is not elided, and therefore, the word denoting a principality and the word denoting a prince will not have the same form; but this rule applies there also. As बाङ्गः or बाङ्गो भक्तिरस्य बाङ्गकः ॥

तेन प्रोक्तम् ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन, प्रोक्तम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनोते तृतीयासमर्थोक्तमित्यस्मिन्मर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

101. After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 83 &c). comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

The word प्रोक्त means प्रकर्षेणोक्त 'preeminently spoken'. It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made'. For the sense of कृत

has been already taught in the sūtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV. 3. 16). Thus अन्वेन कृता नायुरेव प्रोक्ता = नायुरी श्रुतिः ॥ पाणिनीयश्च 'the system of grammar enounced by Pāṇini' भाषिद्यतश्च, काण्डकस्तन्म ॥

Works like Chhandas which were made (कृते) by nobody, but which were promulgated (प्रोक्ते) from time of time by inspired commentators, may be quoted as examples of the application of this sūtra. Or it may apply to the case of a book whose *author* is another, but whose promulgator or expounder is another. In short, speaking roughly, प्रोक्त is a 'revelation', and कृतः is a 'composition', one a revealer or prophet, the other an author.

According to some, this sūtra is almost a superfluity. They argue thus: The word प्रोक्त is formed by adding प्र to वच् and means 'to lecture' 'to teach', and also the 'means of such teaching &c'. In the first sense of 'lecturing or teaching', the affix is not found. For in every village there are persons who teach or lecture upon Kāṭha, Kalāpa &c. For example सुचर्मन् may be such a lecturer, but we do not say सुचर्मणा प्रोक्ते काण्डकं = सौचर्मणम् ॥ Moreover, where we find this affix employed, it is with regard to Books, for which the rule कृते ग्रन्थे is sufficient. If it be said that it should be taught for the Chhandas: that is also unnecessary, as the Vedas are not कृत but eternal, the agent only remembers them. If it be said, it refers to the sense of the Vedas, the same objection applies as to the first. But the letter of the Veda is not eternal, it is the sense that is eternal. Therefore the Rishis who revealed, for the first time, at the beginning of a Kalpa, the sense of the Veda, in appropriate language will be called its promulgators, and the works so revealed will be named after such Rishis, as काण्डकम्, कालापकम् and भारकम् ॥ This sūtra, however, is confined to those cases where the author of the book is one person and its promulgator is another: as नायुरी श्रुतिः ॥

तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोक्ताच्छण् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तित्तिरि-वरतन्तु-खण्डिक-उक्तात्-छण् ॥

श्रुतिः ॥ तित्तिर्यादिभ्यः छण्डेभ्यश्छण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्वचने । अथोपवाहः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ यौनकारिभ्यश्छन्सीत्यत्रास्यानुवृत्तेऽन्वेषिकाविहितानां च तद्विषयेष्वेते ॥

102. The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khandika', and 'ukha'.

Thus तित्तिरीयाः 'those who learn (IV. 2. 64) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'. वारतन्तरीयाः, खण्डिकीयाः, भौषीयाः ॥

According to Kāśika this is confined to the Chhandas only. Therefore it will not apply to secular ślokas, as तित्तिरीणां प्रोक्तं श्लोकः ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sūtra IV. 3. 106. and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66.

काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काश्यप-कौशिकाभ्याम्,  
ऋषिभ्याम्, णिनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काश्यपकौशिकशब्दाभ्यामृषिवाचिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । छ-  
स्थापवादः ॥

103. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâśyapa' and 'Kausika' when denoting Vedic Seers.

This debars छ. The ण् of णिनि is for the sake of Vṛiddhi (useful in the subsequent sūtra). This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works. Thus काश्यपिनः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa', कौशिकिनः ॥ Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्तं—काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa : not a Rishi'.

कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तं वासिभ्यश्च ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापि-वैशम्पायन-अ-  
न्तिवासिभ्यः, च (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलाप्यन्तेवासिनां वैशम्पायनान्ते वासिनां च ये वाचकाः शब्दास्तेभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ते-  
न प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । अणोपवादः ॥

*Kārika*

हरिद्वरेषां प्रथमस्तत्तच्छगलितुम्बुक ।

उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापकमिहोच्यते ॥

भालम्बिभरकः प्राचां पलङ्गकमलावली ।

कूचाभारुणिताण्ड्याश्च मङ्गलीयाश्च येऽपरे ॥

इयामायन उदीच्येषु उक्तः कठकलापिनोः ।

104. After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalāpī', and 'Vaisampāyana,' the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him.'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalāpā : as, हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुकः, उलपः ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaisampāyana : as, भालम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, कूचाभ, भारुणि, ताण्ड्य, इयामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हरिद्रुविजः 'those who study (IV. 2. 64) the works enounced by Haridru.' तम्बुरविजः, भोलपिनः and छगली takes ḍhinuk IV. 3. 109 ॥ भालम्बिनः, पालङ्गिनः, भारुणिनः, आर्चामिनः, कामलिनः, ताण्डिनः, इयामायनिनः ॥ The affix is elided after कठ (IV. 3. 107), and is replaced by अण् (IV. 3. 108) after कलापी ॥

The pupils must be direct ones, and not pupil of pupils. For had that been the meaning, Kalāpī being a pupil of Vaisampāyana, the words 'pupils of Vaisampāyana' would have included the 'pupils of Kalāpī.' But that is not so, the word Kalāpī being separately mentioned in the sūtra. So

also Kāṭha is a pupil of Vaiśampāyana, and Khāḍāyana is a pupil of Kāṭha and had the sūtra applied to pupil's pupil also, then the affix णिनि would have applied to खाडावन also. But that is not the case, Khāḍāyana being mentioned in Śaunakādi class. (IV. 3. 106).

The word चरकः means वैशम्पायनः, hence चरकाः means pupils of वैशम्पायनः ॥

पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुराण-प्रोक्तेषु-ब्राह्मण-कल्पेषु (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत् ॥ सूरीयासमर्थाद्योक्ते णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति यद्योक्तं पुराणप्रोक्तावेद्ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति ॥

105. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him,' after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brāhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages.

This sūtra further gives the sense of the affix. पुराण means 'Ancient Sages' equivalent to पुरातन. Of Brāhmaṇa literature, the examples are, शाब्बायनिनः, एतदायनः ॥ Kalpa work : as पैङ्गीकल्पः, आरुणपराजी ॥

Why do we say पुराणप्रोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages'? Observe याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आरुणयः कल्पः ॥ (VI. 4. 151) Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times. The तद् विषय affix (IV. 2. 66) will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV. 2. 66 is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sūtra.

शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ शौनकादिभ्यः-छन्दसि-(णिनिः) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ शौनक इत्येवमादिभ्यो णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये छन्दस्यभिधेये छाण्योपवादः ॥

106. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words शौनक &c, in denoting Chhandas.

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते = शौनकिनः 'who study (IV. 2. 64) the Chhandas enounced by Śaunaka.' वाजसनेयिनः &c.

Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शिक्षा 'the orthography of Śaunaka.'

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list. This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix. After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV. 3. 107). Thus कठशाठाभ्यां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिनः ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शाङ्गिरव, 4 शापेय (सांपेय), 5 शाप्पेय (शाखेय), 6 खाडावन, 7 स्कन्ध (स्कन्ध), 8 स्कन्ध, 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुमार, 11 रज्जुकण्ड, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाव (कषाव) 14 तल\*, 15 दण्ड\*, 16 पुरुषांसक (पुरुषासक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 साङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्ध, 20 देवदक्षशाठ, 21 तलवकार.

कठचरकाल्लुक् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठ-चरकात्-लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कठचरकशब्दाभ्यां परस्य प्रोक्तप्रत्ययस्य हुण् भवति । कठशब्दाद्वैद्यम्यायनान्तेवासीत्य इति णिने-  
चरकशब्दादप्यणः ॥

107. The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Kāṭha and Charaka.

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैद्यम्यायनान्तेवासी word : and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided. Thus कठः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Kāṭha'. चरकाः &c.

The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sūtra. Observe काठः चारकाः श्लोकाः ॥

कलापिनो ऽण् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कलापिनः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कलापि शब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । वैद्यम्यायनान्तेवासीत्वाण्णिरपवादः  
वार्तिकम् ॥ नान्तस्य द्विलोपे सप्तम्यचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकुयुमित्तलिआअलिआङ्गलिलाङ्गलिङ्गलालिङ्गलिङ्ग-  
लिङ्गल्लुकरसप्तसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

108. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalāpi.

This debars णिनि of IV. 3. 104. Thus कलापाः 'who study the work enounced by Kalāpi'.

The word कलापाः is thus formed :—कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sūtra VI. 4. 144 which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix. This elision is, however, debarred by sūtra VI. 4. 164 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण् not denoting a progeny follows. Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for this Vārtika.

Vārti:—The हि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows :—सप्तम्यचारिन्, पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुयुमिन्, तैत्तिलिन्, आअलिन्, आङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन्, ङ्गलालिन्, ङ्गलिङ्गलिङ्ग, मूलसप्तम्, सुपर्वण् ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापाः ॥

छगलिनो दिनुक् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छगलिनः-दिनुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छगलिन्शब्दाद् दिनुक् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । कलाप्यन्तेवासीत्वाण्णिरपवादः ॥

109. The affix दिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'.

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV. 3. 104). This debars that. Thus छगलिनः 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'.

पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनदसूत्रयोः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ पाराशर्य-शिलालि-  
भ्याम्-भिक्षु-नद-सूत्रयोः (णिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ णिनिरिहानुवर्तते, न दिनुक् । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति तेन प्रोक्तमित्येतस्मिन्-  
निरूपणे ॥

110. The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârâsarya and Silalin, the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra respectively.

The affix णिनि is to be read into the sûtra and not दिनुक् ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र-  
and नदसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants' and  
नरः 'jugglers, dancers'.

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पाराशर + णिनि (VI. 4. 152) = पाराशरिन्, 'the treatise,  
of Pârâsarya on the duties of Bhikshus'. Similarly शैलालिन् ॥ These words,  
of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced  
by Pârâsarya and Sailâlin'. See IV. 2. 66. As पाराशरिणो भिक्षवः, शैलालिनो नराः ॥  
According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV. 2. 66) and  
never a प्रोक्त alone. These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas.

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Nata Sûtras'? Observe  
पाराशर्य, शैलालम् ॥

कर्मन्दकुशाश्वादिनिः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मन्द-कुशाश्वाद्-इनिः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षुनदसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्दकुशाश्वाद्वादिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति । अणोपवाहः ॥

111. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Nata-Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Kriśâśva'.

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षवः, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra  
of Karmandin'. कुशाश्विनो नराः 'the actors who study the Nata Sûtra of Kriśâśvin.'  
Otherwise कर्मन्दकम् and काशाश्वम् ॥ See IV. 2. 66.

तेनैकदिक् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-एकदिक् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थैकदिगित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे व्यतिरिक्तं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

The word एक दिक् means सुख दिक् i. e. a common direction. Thus  
सुसाम्ना एकदिक् = सुसामनी विद्युत् "a lightening, literally that which is in the same  
direction as the hill called the Sudâman." So हेमवती, वैकुण्ठी, पेलुम्भी ॥

The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvṛtiti  
from IV. 3. 101, is for the sake of indicating that the anuvṛtiti of the छन्दस्

which regulated all the preceding ten sūtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV. 2. 66 which was applied in those sūtras does not apply here.

तसिञ्च ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तसिः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तसिञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन्विषये । पूर्वेण धादिषु भजादिषु च प्राप्तेऽप्यनपरः प्रत्ययो विधीयते ॥

113. The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that.'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अच् &c च &c. The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables (I. 1. 37). Thus हिमवतः 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीतुर्मूलतः, सुदामतः ॥

उरसो यच्च ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसो-यत्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराणसिञ्च, तेनैकदिगित्येतस्मिन् विषये ॥

114. The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ।

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्तः ॥ The तसि is read into the sūtra by force of the word च ॥

उपज्ञाते ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपज्ञाते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । तृतीयासमर्थादुपज्ञातइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. After a word in 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'.

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञातं, i. e. an intuition or self taught knowledge. Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञातं = पाणिनीयम् अकालकं व्याकरणं 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pāṇini'. So also काशकृत्स्नम् गुरुलाघवम्, आपिचलम् दुष्करणम् ॥ Compare II. 4. 21. The Pāṇini's Grammar is called अकालकं as it does not define काल or tenses; गुरुलाघव is the name of the sciences of wealth (यज्ञोपायाणां गौरवं लाघवं चिन्त्यते) ॥ The word Duskarāṇa is the name of a Grammar, so-called because of the technical term दुष् occurring in it. Some say it means कामशास्त्रः ॥

कृते ग्रन्थे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृते-ग्रन्थे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव तृतीयासमर्थात्कृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्कृतं ग्रन्थेऽस्त भवति ॥

116. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',



Thus वररुचिना कृताः = वाररुचाः श्लोकाः 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'. So also हेकुरादो ग्रन्थः, मेकुरादो ग्रन्थः, बालूकः ॥

Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृतः प्रासादः 'the palace made by Taksha'.

That which one originates is called कृतः and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c. that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञातं ॥

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तृतीयासमर्थाकृतइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वयाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेतुसंज्ञाज्ञावदे ॥

117. An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name.

Thus मक्षिकाभिः कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, कार्मुकम्, सारपम्, पौनिकम् ॥ All these are names of 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका, सरपा and पुक्षिका meaning 'a bee'. मक्षिका + अञ् = मक्षिक (VI. 4. 148). The anuvṛtti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here.

कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुला-लादिभ्यः, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति चेतस्सर्वमनुवर्तते । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तेन कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

118. The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c. the whole word so formed being a Name.

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit. 'made by a potter'. So also वादकम् ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 बरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद, 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध्र ( सिरिन्ध्र ), 8 सैरिन्ध्र ( सैरिन्ध्र ), 9 देवराज, 10 परिषद् ( पर्यद् ), 11 बधू, 12 मधु, 13 रुक्, 14 रुद्र, 15 अननुद्, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार, 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव ॥

क्षुद्राभ्रमरचटरपादपादञ् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षुद्रा-भ्रमर-चटर-पादपात्, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेन कृते संज्ञायामिति सर्वमनुवर्तते । क्षुद्रादिभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्यक्षो भवति तेन कृतइत्येतस्मिन्विषये संज्ञायां गम्यमानायाम् । अणोपवाहः ॥

119. The affix अञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vâlara', and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name.

This debars अञ्, there being difference in accent between अञ् and अम् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम् = क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a small bee'. So also भ्रमरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम् ॥

तस्येदम् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य-इदम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थादिभित्त्यतस्मिन् चये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवत्यापारब्धः पञ्च महोत्सर्गाः ।  
आपदवच प्रत्यया यथाविहितं विधीयन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहेस्तुणिद् च ॥ वा० अग्नीधः शरणे रण् न च ॥ वा० ॥ समिधानाधानेष्वयम् ॥

120. After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV. 1. 13 &c) comes, in the sense of 'this is his'.

The five universals अण् &c. (IV, 1. 83) and the affixes च &c. (IV. 2. 93) come in this sense. Thus उपगोतिरिन्=ओपगवन्, 'of Upagu'. कापटवन्, राष्ट्रियन्, अवारपाराण् ॥ The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c. Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men.

Vart.—The verb वह takes वृ (हृण् and वृष्) and अण् preceded by an इद्. As, संबोद्धः स्वं=सांबहिचम् ॥

Vart.—The affix रम् comes after अग्नीधः, in the sense of 'house', and the base gets the designation of न् ॥ As अग्नीधम् ॥ The word अग्नीध being treated as a Bha and not as a Pada, the ध is not changed to ह (VIII. 2. 39).

Vart.—The affix 'shenyan' comes after सामधा, in the sense of placing. Thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV. 1. 41) ऋक् ॥

रथाद्यत् ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रथात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रथपञ्चाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्यतस्मिन्विषये । अजोपवाहः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधासति तदन्तविधिरुपसंख्ययाये ॥

121. The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येद्=रथ्यन् 'belonging to the chariot—i. e. wheel or the axle.' The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot. This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ, as, परमरथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vartika रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix बन् there is tadanta-vidhi.

पत्रपूर्वादञ् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्रपूर्वात्-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रपूर्वाद्व्यञ्जवाचम् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्यतस्मिन् विषये ॥

122. When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his.'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथं चक्रं 'the wheel of a horse-cart.' औष्ट्ररथम् ॥ गार्धन रथं ॥

The word यत् means 'that by which any one goes' or a draught-animal, like camel. It is formed by the affix घृत् (III. 2. 182).

पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पत्र-अध्वर्यु-परिषदः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पत्रं वाहनं तद्वाचिनः प्रातिपदिकारध्वर्युपरिषच्छब्दाभ्यां चाम्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैवमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, ऽजोपवाहः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पत्राद्याद्ये ॥

123. After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अश्च is added.

This debars अश्च ॥ The पत्रं means वाहन ॥ When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अश्च added to a word denoting 'a draught-animal.' Thus अश्वस्येवम् वहनीयम् = आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by horse.' So also औष्ट्रम्, गार्ग्यम् ॥ So also आभ्यर्चयम् and पारिषदम् ॥

हलसीरादृक् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलसीराद्यभ्यां ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैवमित्येतस्मिन्निषयेऽजोपवाहः ॥

124. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira.'

Thus हलस्येवम् = हालिकम्, सैरिकम् ॥

द्वन्द्वाद्बुन् वैरमैथुनिकयोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वात्-बुन्-वैर-मैथुनिकयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वात्क्राद् बुन् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैवमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, वैरमैथुनिकयोः प्रत्ययार्थविद्योपवाहः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix बुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debars अश्च and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' बाभ्रव्यद्यालङ्कायनिका, काकोट्टिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, अग्निभरद्वाजिका, कुत्सकुण्डिका ॥

The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II. 4. 9. Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c. As देवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

गोत्रेचरणाद्बुञ्ज् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोत्र-चरणात्-बुञ्ज् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोत्रवाचिभ्यश्चरणाच्च प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो बुम्प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैवमित्येतस्मिन्निषये, ऽजोपवाहः ॥

126. The affix बुञ्ज् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools.

This debars अश्च as well छ ॥ Thus gotra:—गौतमीयकम्, औपगवकम् ॥ According to Patanjali, the word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School,

means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (āmnaya). Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा = काठकम् 'the dharma-Sutras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kāṭhas'. So also कालापकम्, मीरकम्, वैष्णवकम् ॥

संघाङ्गलक्षणेष्वप्यभिज्ञानम् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-अङ्ग-लक्षणेषु-अञ्-यञ्-इजां, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघादिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेष्वमन्ताद् यमन्ताद् इमन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकारण-प्रत्ययो भवति तस्यैव नित्यतस्मिन् विषये । पूर्वस्य पुमोऽपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घोषमहणमत्र कर्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or इञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign.

The word संघ means 'congregation'. The word लक्षण and अङ्ग should be distinguished. लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning. The word अङ्ग is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another : as a mark on a cow showing to what person or clan that cow belongs. The अङ्ग though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found.

This sūtra debars पुञ् of the last aphorism.

Vart :—The word घोष 'a cow-pen', should also be read along with संघ &c. Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark (3) sign (4) a hamlet or cowpen. This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I. 3. 10) does not apply.

Thus अमन्तात् (IV. 1. 104)—वैदः 'a congregation, or mark or sign or a hamlet of the Bidas'. यमन्तात् (IV. 1. 105)—गार्ग्ये + अञ् = गार्ग्यः (VI. 4. 148, 151) 'a congregation, or a mark, or a sign or a hamlet belonging to the Gārgyās? इमन्तात् (IV. 1. 95),—वासि + अञ् = वासिः (VI. 4. 148) 'a congregation &c of the Dākshis'.

The ण् of अञ् could not serve the purpose of Vṛiddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vṛiddhi by virtue of the affixes अञ्, यञ् or इञ् in which they end. The ष would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vṛiddhi is concerned, but अञ् is used to show that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15), Thus वैरी ॥ It further prevents पुंवद्भाव in compounds (VI. 3. 39), as, वैरी विद्याऽस्य = वैरीविद्यः i. e. विद्वानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति स ॥

शाकलाद्वा ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शाकलात्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शाकलस्यार्थसंघासिषु प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणेषु वाच्यप्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैरन्वितस्मिन्विषये । कुम्भो-  
पहारः ॥

128. The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars कुम्भ ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीवते - शाकलः (IV. 3. 101 and IV. 2. 64), शाकलान् संघः - शाकलः or शाकलकः (IV. 3. 126) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śākala.'

छन्दोगौक्तिकाधिक्यवद्बृचनटाभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दोग-औक्तिक-  
याधिक्य-वद्बृच-नटात्, भ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संघास्यो निवृत्ताः, सामान्येन विधानम् । छन्दोगादिभ्यः छन्देभ्योभ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैरन्विते-  
तस्मिन्विषये । कुम्भोपहारः ॥

129. The affix भ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhāndoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yājñika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nāṭa.'

The anuvṛtiti of संघ &c ceases. The भ्य debars अण् and कुम्भ ॥ The phrase चरणाधर्मास्नाययोः from sūtra IV. 3. 126 is understood here and applies even to the word नटः ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽ स्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhāndoga.' So also औक्तिक्यम्, याज्ञिक्यम्, बह्वृच्यम् and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have : छान्दोगं कुलम् 'the family of Chhāndoga.'

न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दण्ड-माणव, अन्तेवासिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवाः, अन्तेवासिनः शिष्या, स्तेष्वभिधेयेषु कुम्भ प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

130. The affix वुञ् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil.'

The word दण्डमाणवाः means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i. e. a mere beginner. The न is changed to ञ in माणव by IV. 1. 161 kārīkā. अन्तेवासिनः are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's house. The word 'gotra' is understood here. Thus शास्ताः "the junior or the senior pupils of Dākṣi." गार्हकाः ॥ So also गौकर्त्ता दण्डमाणवा अन्तेवासिनोवा ॥

रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यः, छः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्वैरन्वितस्मिन्विषये ॥

131. The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c.

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुम् (IV. 3. 126), this ordains छ instead. Thus रैवतिकीयः, स्वापिचीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिचि, 3 क्षेमवृद्धि, 4 गौरमीचि (गौरमीव), 5 औदमेचि (औदमेचि), 6 औदवाचि (औदवाहि), 7 वैजवाचि.

कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कौपिञ्जल-हास्तिपदात्-अण् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदशब्दाभ्यामण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । गोत्रवृत्तोपवादः ॥

132. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hastipada'.

This debars वुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus कौपिञ्जलः, हास्तिपदः ॥ This sūtra is really a Vārtika.

आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च ॥ १३३ ॥ आथर्वणिकस्य, एकलोपः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अणित्येव । आथर्वणिकशब्दादण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्मिन्विषये चेकलोपः, तस्येदमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । ऋणवृत्तोपवादः ॥

133. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'ātharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.

This debars वुम् (IV. 3. 126). Thus आथर्वणिकस्यायम् = आथर्वणो धर्म आम्नायोवा "the Atharvana i. e. the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase ऋणाद् धर्मान्नाययोः is understood here. This sūtra is also a vārtika.

तस्य विकारः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, विकारः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद्विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. An affix (IV. 1. 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'.

The word विकार means the change of condition of the original. The word तस्य, though its aunivṛitti could have been supplied from the previous sūtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of दोषे (IV. 2. 92) does not extend further. The affixes taught, therefore, under दोषे (IV. 2. 92 &c), such as च, ख &c. have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sūtra: the general affix अण् (IV. 1. 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught hereafter. To give an example under this sūtra, we must take such a word which is not governed or provided for, by the subsequent sūtras. That is the

word must not denote a living animal for to it अण् (IV. 3. 154) applies; it must have udātta on the first syllable, for an anudāttādi will have अण् (IV. 3. 140); it must not have a Vṛiddhi vowel आ, ऐ, or औ in the first syllable, to which मयद् (IV. 3. 144) applies; and it must not be a word specifically mentioned in any one of the following aphorisms. Thus it applies to the words अङ्गम् and भस्मन् formed by मनिच् (Uṇ IV. 146, 145) and to मृत्तिका formed by विकृच् (V. 4. 39) which are ādyudātta owing to निच् accent. Thus अङ्गमनो विकारः = अङ्गमनः ॥ The रि is sometimes elided. (VI. 4. 144 Vārt) As आङ्गमः ॥ So also भास्मनः and मार्तिकाः ॥

अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्यः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवयवे, च, प्राणी-ओषधि-वृक्षेभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राण्योषधिवृक्षवादिभ्यः एवेभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यो ऽवयवे यथाविहितं प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादि-कारे च ॥

135. An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification').

By the word च in the sūtra, the phrase तस्य विकारः is also read into the sūtra.

Thus कपोतस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = कापोतः (IV. 3. 154) ॥ So also मासूरः, तैसिरः 'a modification, product or part of a peacock &c—viz a fan &c.' So also ओषधिः as, मूर्धन्य 'product of Murva i. e. ashes or the stalk of Murva'. So also वृक्षः as, कारीरं meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Kārīra tree".

In the subsequent sūtras, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force. But after words which denote non-animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvṛitti, not co-extensive in every respect.

बिल्वादिभ्यो ऽण् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बिल्वादिभ्यः, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बिल्व इत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । यथायोगमभ्युपयोज्यते ।

136. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part,' after the words बिल्व &c.

This debars अण् and मयद् ॥ Thus बिल्वः 'the modification or part of Bilwa.' The word गवेधुकाः occurs in this list. It would have taken 'अण्' by the next sūtra also; its inclusion in the class of Bilwādi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयद् to this word.

1 बिल्व, 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुत्र, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु, 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पादली, 12 कर्कण्डू, 13 कुटीर.

कोपधाञ्च ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क, उपधात्-ञ (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ककारोपधाव्यातिपरिविकारश्च प्रत्ययो भवति वययोगं विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अत्रोपधात् ॥

137. After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate.

This debars अम्. Thus तर्कुं तार्कवम्, तिस्तिरीकं, तेस्तिरीकं; माण्डूकम्, शार्पूकम्, माधूकम् ॥ The word तिस्तिरीक &c have acute on the middle (Phit Su. II. 16).

अपुजतुनोः पुक् ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपु-जतुनोः-पुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपुजतुघञ्वाभ्यामश्च प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे, तत्सन्निभोगेन तयोः पुगागमो भवति । ओरओपधात् ॥

138. The affix अण् with the augment पुक् comes in the sense of 'its modification,' after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'.

This debars अम् (IV. 3. 139). As, अपुजो विकारः = वापुजम्; जातुपश्च "modification of tin and lac." In these words denoting non-organic beings, the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix.

ओरश्च ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः-अश्च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताव्यातिपरिविकारश्च प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपधात् ॥

139. The affix अश्च comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part,' (provided that the word has not grave accent on the first syllable).

Thus देवदारवम्, माह्वदारवम् ॥ The words देवदारु and माह्वदारु are ādy-udātta owing to Phit Su. II. 14 (पीतवृक्षपर्यानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

अनुदात्तादेश्च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तादेः, च (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तादेः प्रातिपरिविकारश्च प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः, रणोपधात् ॥

140. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part,' after a word having anudātta accent on the first syllable.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus दधिस्थम्, कापिस्थम्, माहिस्थम् ॥ The word दधिस्थम् is an upapada-samāsa of दधि + स्थ, the द being changed to त् ; and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतित्त्वर ॥

पलाशादिभ्यो वा ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः-वा (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पलाशादिभ्यः प्रातिपरिविकारे वा ऽम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥



141. The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c.

Thus पालाशञ् or पामाशञ् so also लारिञ् or लारिञ्, वारिञ् or वारिञ् ॥

This sūtra is an example of prāpta and aprāpta vibhāṣā. The words पलाश, लारि, वारि and ल्यञ् being gravely accented on the first syllable, the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism. This makes it optional, and is prāpta-vibhāṣā. In the case of others it is aprāpta-vibhāṣā.

1 पलाश, 2 लारि, 3 वारि, 4 ल्यञ् (ल्यञ्), 5 पलाशः, 6 करि, 7 वारि, 8 वारि, 9 विकटञ्.

शम्याऽलञ् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्याः-लञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमीशम्याद् लञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अमोपवादः ॥

142. The affix लञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी.

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शमीलं नल, शमीली मुञ् (IV. 1. 60).

मयद्वैतयोर्भाषायामभस्याच्छादनयोः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयद्-चा-पतयोः, भाषायाम्, अभस्य-आच्छादनयोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रकृतिग्राह्यां मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति भस्याच्छादनवर्जितयोर्विकारावयवयोरर्थयोर्भाषायां विषये वयायर्थं प्रत्ययेषु प्रातिष्ठ ॥

143. The affix मयद् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of product and part, in secular language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of.

Thus अहमनयन् or आहमनयन् (IV. 3. 134) 'नृपानयं or गौरयं (IV. 3. 135).

Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in secular language'? Witness वैल्यः स्तारितो वा सूपः स्वात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of'? Observe गौरः सूपः 'a soup made of kidney beans'. कापानयन् आच्छादनम् ॥

Why the word एतयोः 'in those two meanings' is used in the sūtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sūtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV. 3. 135, 136 &c are replaced also by मयद् ॥ Thus कपोतमयन् or कापोतम् (IV. 3. 135), लोहमयन् or लोहम् ॥

नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्यः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, वृद्ध-शरादिभ्यः (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाषायामभस्याच्छादनयोरित्येव । वृद्धेभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः शरादिभ्यश्च अभस्याच्छादनयोर्येव विकारावयवयोर्भाषायां विषये नित्यं मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of its product or part, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c.

Thus after Vṛiddha—आममयम्, घालमयम्, शाकमयम् ॥ After शरादि words:—  
शरमयम्, हर्ममयम्, मृन्मयम् ॥

Why do we use the word निव्यः 'invariably' in the sūtra, when by the mere fact of making a separate sūtra, the affix would be obligatory? The affix मयद्, according to Patanjali comes invariably after words of one syllable. That is done by using the word निव्य in the sūtra. Thus, खट्व मयम्, झम् मयम्, बाह्व मयम् ॥

1 शर, 2 हर्म, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी. 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्लव (बल्लव).

गोश्च पुरीषे ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, च-पुरीषे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोश्चाद्यात्पुरीषे ऽभिधेये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. affix मयद् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung.'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'. 'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow. Therefore this separate sūtra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्यं = milk. The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part. (IV. 3. 160), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikāra' of गो ॥

पिष्टाश्च ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पिष्टात्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टाद्यात्कन्ये मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषये, ऽणोपवाहः ॥

146. The affix मयद् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पैटी रूप in the sense of तस्यैहम् ॥

संज्ञायां कन् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-कन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पिष्टाद्यात्कन् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारे संज्ञायां विषये । मयदोपवाहः ॥

147. The affix कन् comes in the sense of product, after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name.

This debars मयद् ॥ As पिष्टकः ॥

घ्रीहेः पुरोडाशे ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घ्रीहेः-पुरोडाशे (मयद्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ घ्राह्याद्यान्मयद् प्रत्ययो भवति पुरोडाशे विकारे । विस्राघणोपवाहः ॥

148. The affix मयद् comes after the word घ्रीहे in the sense of a 'Puroḍāsa.'

This debars अण् (IV. 3. 136). Thus श्रीहिमवः पुरोडासः 'a sacred cake made of barley.' Otherwise त्रैहयम् ॥

असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ असंज्ञायाम्, तिल-यवाभ्याम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तिलयवश्चाभ्यामसंज्ञाविषये नयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

149. The affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name.

Thus तिलमयम्, यवमयम्, ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name?" Observe तैलम् 'oil,' बाधकः formed with कन्. (बाधोक्तिः कन् V. 4. 29)

द्व्यच्चदछन्दसि ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ द्व्यच्चः-छन्दसि (मयद्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ द्व्यचः प्रातिपदिकाच् छन्दसि विषये नयद् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

150. In the Chhandas, after a dissyllabic word, the affix मयद् comes in the sense of 'its product or part.'

This ordains मयद् in the sacred literature also, secular literature being dealt with in IV. 3. 143. Thus पर्जन्यः, र्जमयः, शरमयः in the following वस्य पर्जन्यो जुहूर्मयति, र्जमयम् वासो भवति, शरमयम् बहिर् भवति ॥

नोत्त्वद्धर्द्धवित्वात् ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-उत्त्वत्-वर्द्ध-वित्वात् (मयद्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्वतः प्रातिपदिकाद्धर्द्धवित्त्वच्छाब्दाभ्यां च नयद् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

151. The affix मयद् does not come in the Chhandas after the dissyllabic words, having a short vowel उ in them, nor after the words 'vardhra' and 'bilwa.'

Thus नौज्जं शिक्यम् from मुज्ज by अण् ॥ गार्मुतं चक्रम्, वार्शी बालप्रमयिता भवति; वेल्पो ब्रह्मवर्चसकानेन कार्यः ॥

The word उक्त्वत् means 'having उक् or short u (I. 1. 70)' The rule does not apply to words containing long ऊ, as भूमयान्यभ्याणि ॥ The वत् in उत्त्वत् shows that the rule applies not only to words *ending* in उ, but also to words *having* उ. Had वत् not been used, the tadanta-vidhi would require the application of the rule to words *ending* in उ, but not to those which had उ in any other part of their form. So that the prohibition applies to वेणु also, as वेणवी वटिः (IV. 3. 136).

The word मुज्ज is ādy-udatta by तुणधान्यानां (Phit II. 4): and therefore it takes the universal अण् (IV. 3. 134). The word गर्मुत् is formed by the affix उक् plus the augment मुद् (गुमारुतः, घोमुद् Uṇ I. 94 and 95), and is finally acute, and therefore it takes अण् by IV. 3. 140, and forms गार्मुत ॥ This word has

acute on the final also, as तत्त्वा एतं गार्हपत्यं चर्ह निर्दिशेत् ॥ The word चर्ह is ady-  
udatta by Phit II. 19. and therefore takes अञ्, the feminine being formed by  
ङीष् (IV. 1. 15).

तालादिभ्योः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तालादिभ्यः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तालादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । मयडासीनामपवादः ॥

152. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its pro-  
duct or part', after the words 'tāla &c'.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus तालं धनुः, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रालिङ्गम् ॥

1 तालाधनुषि, 2 बार्हिण, 3 ऐन्द्रालिङ्ग, 4 ऐन्द्राङ्ग, 5 ऐन्द्राङ्गुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्म), 7 दद्या-  
माक, 8 पीडूसा.

जातरूपेभ्यः परिमाणे ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातरूपेभ्यः-परिमाणे (अञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातरूपं सुवर्णम् । बहुवचननिर्देशात्तद्वाचिनः सर्वे गृह्यन्ते । जातरूपवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो  
ऽञ् प्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे विकारे । मयडासीनामपवादः ॥

153. The affix अञ् comes after a word denoting  
'gold', when the sense is a weight or measure.

The word जातरूप means 'gold'. It is used in the plural in the sūtra,  
indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken.

This debars मयद् &c. Thus हाटकौ निष्कः, हाटकं कार्पापणम्, जातरूपम्, ताप-  
नीबम् ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure'. Observe यहिरिव हाटकमयी ॥

प्राणिरजतादिभ्यो ऽञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ प्राणि-रजतादिभ्यः-अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राणिवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो रजतादिभ्यश्चाम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । अणारी-  
नामपवादः ॥

154. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its pro-  
duct or part', after words expressing living beings, and  
after रजत &c.

This debars अञ् &c. The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after  
those words that have anudatta in the beginning. This sūtra applies to words  
other than those having anudatta in the beginning.

Thus:—कापोतम्, मायूरम्, तैन्निरम्, राजतम्, सैसम्, लोहम्, &c. In the class  
रजतादि those words like रजत, कण्टकार &c, which have anudatta on the beginning  
and would have taken अञ् by IV. 3. 140, have been enumerated to prevent  
the application of मयद् to them.

1 रजत, 2 सैस, 3 लोह, 4 उषुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 शर, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 वि-  
नीतक, 9 पीतशर (कपीत, शर), 10 तीव्रशर, 11 विकण्टक, 12 कण्टकार.

भित्तश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भित्तः-च-तत्-प्रत्ययात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभित्येव । तदिति विकारावयवयोर्ययोः प्रत्ययवर्गः । भिद्योविकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्ताव्याविष्ट-  
विकारम् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोर्येव । नवदोषवाहः ॥

155. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory ञ् such affix denoting 'its product or part'.

The affixes having indicatory ञ् denoting product or part, are अञ् (IV. 3. 139), टलञ् (IV. 3. 142), अम् (IV. 3. 154) डुम् (IV. 3. 157), इम् (IV. 3. 159), अश्, बश् (IV. 5. 168). When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अञ् is used. Thus देवसारवत् विकारोऽवयवो वा-देवसारवन्; so also राधित्यन्, पालाशन्, घामीलन्, कापोतन्, भीष्टकन्, ऐजेबन्, काल्वन्, पारशवन् ॥

Why do we say भित्तः? Witness वेल्गमयं. Here नयर् is used after वेल्ग and the derivative is formed by अञ् of IV. 3. 136. So also वेल्गमयन् ॥

क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रीतवत्-परिमाणात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राग्बतेष्टमित्यत आरब्ध क्रीतार्ये ये प्रत्ययाः परिमाणाद्विहितान्ते विकारोऽर्जतदिश्यन्ते । परिमाणात् क्रीत इव प्रत्यया भवन्ति तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । अजादीनामपवाहः ॥

156. After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part' is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased.

The affixes taught in V. 1. 18 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V. 1. 37). These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V. 1. 19). The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अञ् &c. Thus निष्केन क्रीतम्-मैष्किकम् (V. 1. 20); It will denote vikāra also, निष्कस्य विकारः-मैष्किकः formed by ङक् (V. 1. 20). As घतेनक्रीतं-घत्वं or घतिकम् (V. 1. 21), so घतस्य विकारः-घत्वं or घतिकः by ङन् and यन् (V. 1. 21), सहस्रेणक्रीतं-साहस्रम् (V. 1. 27) so सहस्रस्य विकारः-साहस्रः (V. 1. 27 by अञ्) ॥

The word वन् in क्रीतवन् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout. Thus Sūtra V. 1. 28 also applies, by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्रः or द्विसाहस्रः (V. 1. 29), द्विनिष्कः or द्विमैष्किकः ॥ The word परिमाण in this sūtra includes संख्या 'the, numerals' also; while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyā. See IV. 1. 22 and V. 1. 19 &c. The similarity extends even to the elision of affix (V. 1. 28) as, द्विसहस्रः, द्विसाहस्रः &c.

उष्ट्राद्वुञ् ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष्ट्रात्, वुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष्ट्राद्वुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोर्ययोः । प्राग्यमोपवाहः ॥

157. The affix **बुञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra.

This debars **अम्** (IV. 3. 154). उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रकः ॥

उमोर्णयोर्वा ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उमा-ऊर्णयोः-चा (बुञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उमाश्चाङ्गाङ्गाङ्गाङ्गा वा बुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ।

158. The affix **बुञ्** comes optionally in the sense of 'its product or part, after the words उमा and ऊर्णा.

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम् ॥

एण्या ढञ् ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एण्याः, ढञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एणीश्चाङ्गाङ्गाङ्गाङ्गा वा ढञ् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । प्राण्यभोपवादः ॥

159. The affix **ढञ्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the feminine word एणी ॥

Thus ऐजेयं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer.' But एणस्य मांसम् = ऐजम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by **अम्** ॥

गोपयसोर्यत् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ गो-पयसोः, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपयः शब्दाभ्यां यत् प्रत्ययो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः ॥

160. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यम् (VI. 1. 79), पयस्यम् ॥

द्रोश्च ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्रोः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दाद्यत्यस्यो भवति विकारावयवयोरर्थयोः । ओरभोपवादः ॥

161. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'its product or part' after the word 'dru.'

This debars **अम्** (IV. 3. 139). Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

माने वयः ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ माने-वयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्रुशब्दान्माने विकारविशेषे वयः प्रत्ययो भवति । यतोपवादः ॥

162. The affix **वय** comes in the sense of 'its product,' after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure.'

This debars **यत्** ॥ As द्रव्यम् 'a measure.'

फले लुक् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ फले, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विकारावयवयोरुत्पन्नस्य फले तद्विशेषे विवक्षिते लुक् भवति ॥

163. The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk*, when such product or part is 'a fruit.'

Thus आमलक्यः फलं = आमलकी + मयद् लुक् = आमलकं 'the fruit of Myrobalans.' So also वररम् ॥ The fruit is a "product" as well as a "part" of a fruit-bearing tree.

प्लक्षादिभ्योष् ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्लक्षादिभ्यः-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । प्लक्षादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः फले विकारावयवत्वेन विवक्षिते ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अमोपवादः ॥

164. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c.'

This debars अम् ॥ Thus प्लक्षाद्, नैवमोपवाद् ॥

1 द्वस्त, 2 न्यमोष, 3 अन्धत्थ, 4 इङ्गुरी, 5 शिपु, 6 रुक्, 7 कस्तनु ( कर्कन्धु, कर्कन्तु कर्कतु) 8 वृक्षी. ॥

जम्ब्या वा ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जम्ब्याः-वा (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलइत्येव । जम्बूजम्ब्यास्फले ऽभिधेये वाऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । अमोपवादः ॥

165. The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'.

This debars अम् ॥ Thus जम्बु + अण् = जाम्बवं as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अम् is added, it is elided by IV. 3. 163. As जम्बु + अम् (IV. 3. 139) = जम्बु, as जम्बूनि फलानि (VI. 4. 8) ॥

लुप् च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लुप्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेत्येव । जम्ब्याः फलेभिधेये प्रत्ययस्य वा लुप् भवति । इत्तवद्भावे विशेषः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लुप्प्रकरणे फलपाकशुषामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् ॥

166. The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by *lup* after the word 'jambû'.

The word वा is understood here. The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup', there is concordance of gender and number. See sūtra I. 2. 51. Thus जम्बु + अमूलुप् = जम्बुः, as, जम्बुः फलं ॥ Optionally जम्ब्याः फलं = जम्बु फलं, or जाम्बवं ॥

*Vart* :—There is *lup*-elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens : Thus व्रीहिः-व्रीह्यः, यवाः, माषाः, मुक्ताः, तिलाः ॥

*Vart* :—Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots : as, मालिकायां पुष्पं = मल्लिका, नवमल्लिका जातिः ; so also विरार्या मूलं = विरारी ॥ अशुभमती वृक्षी ॥

In the above example there is concordance. By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place. As पादलानि पुष्पाणि, शाङ्गानि मूलानि ॥ So कर्मणं पुष्पं, मणोकम्, करवीरम्, वैष्णवि कस्तानि &c.

हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरीतक्यादिभ्यः-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरीतकी इत्येवमादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः फले प्रत्ययस्य लुक् भवति । लुकिप्राप्ते लुपो विधाने शुक्लवस्त्रादेर्जीप्रत्ययश्रवणे च विद्यते ॥

167. The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप, after the words 'Haritaki' &c.

Here also there is concordance (I. 2. 51), As हरीतक्याः फले-हरीतकी instead of हरीतकं ॥ So also कौशातकी, नखरञ्जनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फले, हरीतक्यः फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कौशातकी, 3 नखरञ्जनी ( नखररञ्जनी ) 4 शष्पकण्डी ( शाकण्डी ) 5 शडी, 6 शोडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 मर्जुनपाकी, 9 ब्राक्षा, 10 काला, 11 भ्राक्षा ( भ्राह्मसा ) 12 गभीका ( गंगरिका ) 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली\*, 15 पिच्छा\* ( चिम्या ), 16 शेफालिका, 17 इडी. ॥

कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञ्जौ लुक् च ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कंसीय-परशव्ययोः, यञ्ज-अञ्जौ, लुक्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्राक्कीताच्छेन कंसीयः । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । परशव्यः । कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्यां यथासंख्यं यञ्जौ प्रत्ययो भवतस्तस्य विकार इत्येतस्मिन्विषय, तत्संनियोगेन च कंसीयपरशव्ययोरुल्लङ्घनं भवति ॥

168. The affixes यञ्ज, and अञ्ज come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansīya' and 'parasavya', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words).

The word कंसीयः is formed by छ (V. 1. 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V. 1. 2). These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes यञ् and अञ् are added. Thus कंसीय + यञ् = कंस + यञ् = कांस्यः so also परशव्य from परशव्य thus परशव्य + अञ् = परशु + अञ् = पारशवः ॥

The words लुक् च mean 'there shall be elision'. Of what? Certainly not of the primitive, for लुक् is never applied to the elision of a base, but of an affix only (I. 1. 61). It follows therefore that the elision is of the affixes of कंसीय and परशव्य ॥ Now these words have two affixes, thus. To the root कन् is added first the Uṇādi affix स (Uṇ III. 62) and we get कंस; next to कंस is added छ. So also to पर + घृ is added the affix उ (Uṇ I. 33) and we have परशु, to which is then added यत् and we have परशव्य ॥ The question arises, should these affixes स and उ be also elided. The answer is 'no'. The word प्रातिपदिकान् of IV. 1. 1 is understood is this sūtra; so the elision will take place of those affixes only



which follow a prātipadika. But ह् and ङ् are added to a Dhātu and not a prātipadika, hence those affixes are saved from the operation of लुक् ॥

The word पराचक्ष् being gravely accented on the first (VI. 1. 185) would have taken अच् by IV. 3. 140. The present sūtra teaches the elision only of its affix चक्ष्, अच् being already obtained.

Q. The final अ of कसीच and पराचक्ष् will be elided by VI. 4. 148 before these taddhita affixes, and after such elision, the final ह् will be elided by VI. 4. 150, where is then the necessity of this sūtra?

A. The final ह् will not be elided, because VI. 4. 150 will apply only then, when an affix beginning with long ई follows, which is not the case here.



ओ३म् ।

## अथ चतुर्थाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ।

### BOOK FOURTH.

#### CHAPTER FOURTH.

प्राग्वहतेष्टक् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राक्-बहतेः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति रथयुगमासद्गमिति वक्ष्यति । प्रागंतस्माद्वहति संवाब्दनायानयाननुक्रमिष्यामः, ठक् प्रत्ययस्तेष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ॥

वाचिकम् ॥ ठक्प्रकरणे तदाहोति मावाब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वा० ॥ भाहोमभूतादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ पृच्छतो सुस्नातादिभ्यः ॥ वा० ॥ मच्छतो परशारादिभ्यः ॥

1. The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sūtra IV. 4. 76.

This is an adhikāra sūtra. The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sūtra तद्वहति &c. Thus in the next sūtra it is said; "After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered.'" Now this sūtra is incomplete. We must read the word ठक् into it. Thus अक्षे वीव्याति = भाक्षिकः "who plays with aksha—a dicer." अक्ष + ठक् = भाक्षिकः (VII. 3. 50).

*Vart*:—After the words मावाब्द &c, the affix 'ṭhak' comes in the sense 'he said that.' Thus मावाब्द इत्याह = मावाब्दिकः who says 'don't make noise,' कार्य-वाब्दिकः ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence.

*Vart*:—So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said': as प्रभूतमाह = प्राभूतिकः, पार्याप्तिकः ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an adverb.

*Vart*:—So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नातं पृच्छति = सौस्नातिकः "Who asks, have you bathed well". साखराजिकः, सौखयायनिकः ॥

*Vart*:—So also after परशारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with': as परशारान् गच्छति = पारशारिकः, गौरुतत्पिक ॥ The word तत्प here refers to "wife".

तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ तेन-दीव्यति-खनति-जयति जितम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थाद् दीव्यति खनति जयति जितमित्येतेष्वर्थेषु ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix उक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'.

Thus अक्षेरीष्यति = भाषिकः 'who plays with dice—a dicer'. शालाकिकः ॥ अग्न्या खनति = भाषिकः, कौशालिकः, अक्षेर्जयति = भाषिकः, अक्षेर्जितं = भाषिकम् ॥ शालाकिकम् ॥

Though the rule is couched in universal terms, yet the affix does not come after every instrumental case. Thus देवदत्तेन जितम् will not give rise to any affix, for the word देवदत्तिकः is not found in usage having this sense. So also अंगुल्या खनति gives rise to no affix. Though the verbs 'divyati' &c. are in the 3rd Person Present Tense, Singular number, the derivative is not limited by these conditions. Thus भाषिको and भाषिकाः are also valid, and so also अक्षेरीष्यन् will give also भाषिकः; so also भाषिकस्त्वम् भाषिकोऽहम् ॥ Though in a sentence the verb is generally the principal word (क्रियाप्रधान), here owing to the Taddhita affix, the instrument is taken as the principal.

संस्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ संस्कृतम् (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यासंस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix उक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'.

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing'. Thus दध्ना संस्कृतं = राधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd'. So also शार्ङ्गवेरिकम्, मारीचिकम् ॥

The separation of this sūtra from the last, is for sake of the next sūtra, in which the anuvṛitti of संस्कृतं only runs,

कुलत्थकोपधादण् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुलत्थ-कोपधात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुलत्थशब्दात्कारोपधाच्छब्दाच्च प्रातिपदिकादण् प्रत्ययो भवति संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । उकोपधादः ॥

4. After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'.

This debars उक् ॥ Thus कौलस्यम्, तैत्तिरीकीम्, शार्ङ्गभक्तम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क् ॥

तरति ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तरति (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेति तृतीयासमर्थ्यात् तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix उक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses there by over the waters'.

Thus काण्डफलनेतरति = काण्डफलनिकः, ओरुपिकः 'who crosses with a raft'.

गोपुच्छाद्ठक् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोपुच्छात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोपुच्छाद्वाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङकोपचारः ॥

6. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'.

The difference between ठक् and ठक् is in the accent. Thus गोपुच्छिकः ॥

नौद्वयचष्टन् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौद्वयचः-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नौद्वयाद् द्वयच प्रातिपदिकाद् ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति तरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ङकोपचारः ॥

*Kārika*

आकर्षात्परादिभेदादिभ्यः कुसीरसूचाच्च ।

अवासयात्किञ्चारेः पितः पठेते ङगधिकारः ॥

7. The affix ठक् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविकः 'a sailor'. So also after dissyllabic words : as, पटिकः, फलिकः, बाहुकः ॥

The च in ठक् in the sūtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules. The feminine of बाहुकः being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory च occurs in these sūtras only IV. 4, 9, 10, 18, 53 and 74, in this book.

चरति ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेनेति वृत्तीयासमर्थाचरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'.

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat. Thus दध्ना चरति = दाधिकः 'who gets on, with being fed on curd, हस्तिनिकः 'who travels by an elephant'. शाकटिकः ॥

आकर्षान्ठल् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आकर्षात्-ठल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकर्षाद्वाद् ठल् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ङकोपचारः ॥

9. The affix ठल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means thereof' after the word 'ākārsha.'

This debars ठक् ॥ The ठ् is for accent (VI. 1. 193). The च of ठल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sūtra 7 ante. To remove the doubt where च is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed : "आकर्षात् परादिभेदादिभ्यः कुसीरसूचाच्च, अवासयात्

क्रियापदेः वित्तः पठेते इगधिकारे ॥ In the six Sūtras 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, the affixes have indicative 'sh.' Here च being इन्, the feminine is formed by डीप् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आकार्येन चरति—आकार्यिक / आकार्यिकी ॥ आकार्य is a touch-stone by which gold is tested.

पर्यादिभ्यः घृन् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्यादिभ्यः, घृन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परं इत्येवमादिभ्यः घृन् प्रत्ययो भवति चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । इकोपवादः ॥

10. The affix घृन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on,' by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c.

This debars इङ्; the ङ् of घृन् is for accent (VI. 1. 197), and ङ् for डीप् (IV. 1. 41). Thus पर्यिकः / पर्यिकी, अर्थिकः / अर्थिकी ॥ पर्यिकः / पर्यिकी ॥ The पाठ is changed to पठ् before this affix (VI. 3. 52).

1 परं, 2 अर्थ, 3 अर्थव्य, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 ग्यास, 7 ग्यास, 8 पाठः पठ ॥

भगणादठञ्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भगणात्, ठञ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भगण्यप्रादादठञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् इङ्, चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इकोपवादः ॥

11. The affix ठञ् as well as the affix घृन्, comes after the word इवगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars इङ् ॥ Thus भगजेन चरति—भगणिकः 'who lives by dogs'. / भगणिकी ॥ इङ्, भगणिकः / भगणिका ॥

The form भगणिकः is evolved by the breach of rule VII. 3. 4. Thus भगण + इङ् ॥ Here by VII. 2. 117, इङ् requires Vṛiddhi of अ of च ॥ But rule VII. 3. 4 says that instead of Vṛiddhi, the letter औ comes before च in the case of अङ् &c. The proper form, therefore, would have been औभगणिकः ॥ The irregularity is, however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII. 3. 8 which applies when अङ् is followed by इङ्, applies also to अङ् followed by ठञ् ॥ In fact, the rule VII. 3. 4 does not apply, whenever the word अङ् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेतनादिभ्यः, जीवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेतेति तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वेतनादिभ्यः जीवेभ्यो जीवतित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus वेतनेन जीवति—वैतनिकः 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्दण्ड the affix applies to the compounds, as well as to the words forming the compound. Thus धनुर्दण्डिकः, धानुष्कः, सण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन ( वाह ), 3 अर्धवाहन ( अर्धवाह ), 4 धनर्षण्डः 5 जाल, 6 वेद्य ( वेस ), 7 उपवेद्य ( उपवेद्य, उपवेस ), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति ( उपस्ति ), 10 सुख, 11 दृष्ट्या, 12 दृष्टि, 13 उपनि-  
वर, 14 उपवेद्य, 15 स्विङ्क्\* ( स्विज ), 16 वाह, 17 उपत्य\*, 18 उपत्यान, 19 उपहस्त\*, 20 ङक् ॥

घस्नक्रयविक्रयाद्ङ्क् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ घस्न, क्रय, विक्रयात्, ङ्क् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वलक्रयविक्रयघञ्वाभ्यां तृतीयासनर्थाभ्यां ङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ङकोपवाहः ॥

13. The affix ङ्क् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya', and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction.

This debars ङ्क् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्तिकः 'who lives by hire--hire-ling'. In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound. Thus क्रयविक्रयिकः, क्रयिकः, विक्रयिकः 'a trader'.

आयुधाच्छ च ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आयुधात्, छ, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुधघञ्छप्रत्ययो भवति, चकारादृच्छ जीवतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये ॥

14. The affix छ as well as ङ्क् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the word 'āyudha'.

Thus आयुधेन जीवति = आयुधीयः (formed by छ), or आयुधिकः (by ङ्क्) 'a mercenary soldier'.

हरत्युत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरति, उत्सङ्गादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । उत्सङ्गादिभ्यस्तृतीयासनर्थाभ्यां हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङ्क् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

15. The affix ङ्क् comes in the sense of 'he conveys thereby', after the words utsanga &c. being in the third case in construction.

The word हरति means 'to take away to or cause to reach another place'. Thus औत्सङ्गिकः 'borne upon the hip'. औदुषिकः 'borne or transported on a raft'.

1 उत्सङ्ग, 2 उजुप्, 3 उत्पुत ( उत्पत ), 4 उत्पन्न\*, 5 उत्पट\*, 6 पिटक, 7 पिदाक, 8 उदप.

भस्त्रादिभ्यः घृन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्त्रादिभ्यः, घृन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भस्त्रेत्येवमादिभ्यस्तृतीयासनर्थाभ्यां हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे घृन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix घृन् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'bhasra &c' being in the third case in construction,

Thus भस्त्रया हरति = भस्त्रिकः "who conveys by means of a leathern bag, a carrier". The feminine will be भस्त्रिकी (IV, I. 41). So भ्रष्टिकः f. भ्रष्टिकी ॥ The

word मञ्ज means a leathern bellows by which the iron is heated, or a leathern bag in which grain &c., is carried.

1 मञ्जा, 2 मरद, 3 मरण ( मारण ), 4 क्षीर्षमार, 5 क्षीर्षमार, 6 मंसमार, 7 मंसेमार. ॥

विभाषा विवधवीवधात् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, विवध, वीवधात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । विवधवीवधघटाभ्यां तृतीयासमर्थाभ्यां विभाषा इत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix घृन् comes optionally in the sense of 'he conveys', after the words 'vivadha', and 'vivadha', being in the third case in construction.

In the alternative, the general affix इक् will apply. Thus विवधेन हरति = विवधिकः f. विवधिकी ; So also वीवधेन हरति = वीवधिकः f. वीवधिकी ॥ When the affix is इक्, we have वैवधिकः in both cases, the feminine being वैवधिकी ॥

The word विवध and वीवध 'are synonyms both meaning 'a piece of wood carried on the shoulders to carry loads, on the road.' विवधिकः meaning 'a carrier of loads, a pedler'. The real sūtra is विभाषा विवधात्, the Kāsikā has added वीवध from a Vārtika.

अण्कुटिलिकायाः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्, कुटिलिकायाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतीत्येव । कुटिलिकाघटात् तृतीयासमर्थात् प्रत्ययो भवति हरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

18. The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction.

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति मृगो व्याध-कौटिलिको मृगः 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey'. कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारात्-कौटिलिकः कर्मारः 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'.

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron-forge of the blacksmiths'.

निर्वृत्ते ऽक्षघृतादिभ्यः ॥ १९ ॥ निर्वृत्ते, अक्ष, घृतादिभ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । अक्षघृतादिभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो निर्वृत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyūta &c', being in the third case in construction.

Thus अक्षघृतेन निर्वृत्तम् = अक्षघृतिकं वेरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'. So आनुग्रहतिकम् ॥

1 अक्षघृत, 2 आनुग्रहत ('ग्रहत'), 3 अक्षग्रहत ('ग्रहत'), 4 अक्षग्रहत\*, 5 पादस्तेवन, 6 कण्टकमर्दन, 7 गतानुगत\*, 8 गतागत, 9 आतोपघात, 10 अनुगत. ॥

त्रैर्मसित्वम् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रेः, मप्, नित्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तस्येव, वृत्तः त्रैर्मसित्वं विद्यमानं गृह्यते । वचनान्मित्वं मप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix मप् comes always after the words ending in the affix त्रि, the in sense of 'completed thereby',

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III. 3. 88). Thus the root कुपय् takes त्रि and forms पयिन्, which is not a complete word, but must take the augment मप्, to form a full word. Thus पय् + यिन् + मप् = पयिन्मप् 'what is completed by being cooked'. So from कुपय् we have पय् + यिन् + मप् = पयिन्मप् (VI. 1. 15): from कुकृप् we have कृचिन्मप् ॥

The word नित्य in the sūtra indicates that the affix यिन् never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also. In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'.

Vart:—After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added. Thus पाकेन निर्बन्ध = पाकिन्मप् (पय् + यिन् III. 3. 18 + इमप्), so व्यागिमन्, सेकिन्मन्, कुट्टिमन् ॥

अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपमित्य-याचिताभ्याम्, कक्-कनौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्वृत्तस्येव । अपमित्ययाचितशब्दाभ्यां ययासंख्यं कक् कन् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतो, निर्वृत्तस्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

21. The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita', when the sense is that of completion.

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'. The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the suffix क्त्वा (III. 4. 19). The क्त्वा is changed to खप्, and ह substituted for मा (VI. 4. 70). The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तेन does not run here.

संसृष्टे ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संसृष्टे, उक्त्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । वृत्तियासमर्थसंसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक्त्वा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix उक्त्वा comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

The word तेन is understood here. The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c. Thus इध्ना संसृष्ट = शोधकम् 'smeared with curds.' गार्हपत्यिकम्, शार्ङ्गवेदिकम्, वैष्णविकम् ॥ The word 'sanskṛtam' (IV. 4. 3) and 'sanskṛtām' should be distinguished. The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced; no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥



चूर्णादिनिः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चूर्णात्, इनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चूर्णसम्बन्धनिः प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टे । इकोपवाहः ॥

23. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chūrna' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars इक् ॥ Thus चूर्णैः संसृष्टा = चूर्णिनो ऽ वृषाः 'cakes sprinkled with powder.' चूर्णिनो धानाः ॥

लवणात्लुक् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, लुक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संसृष्टइत्यनेनोत्पन्नस्य इको लवणसम्बन्धात्लुक् भवति ॥

24. The affix लुक् meaning 'mixed therewith,' is elided by luk, after the word lavana.'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्टः = लवणः 'mixed with salt.' as लवणः दूषः 'soup mixed with salt.' So लवणं घाकं, लवणा यवतूः (I. 1. 51). The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective.

मुद्गादण् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ मुद्गात्, अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुद्गस्यस्यारण्यं प्रत्ययो भवति संसृष्टइत्येतस्मिन्विषये । इकोपवाहः ॥

25. The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga,' when the sense is 'mixed therewith.'

This debars इक् ॥ Thus नौद्रं भोरनः 'rice mixed with mudga-pulse.' नौद्रो यवातूः ॥

व्यञ्जनैरुपसिके ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यञ्जनैः, उपसिके (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तेनेत्येव । व्यञ्जनवाचिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो उपसिकइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith.'

Thus इच्छा उपसिकं = साधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd,' सौषिकम्, खारिकम् ॥ Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe इच्छेनोपसिकं भोरनः ॥

ओजः सहोम्भसा वर्तते ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजः, सहः, अम्भसा-वर्तते (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ओजस् सहस् अम्भस् इत्येतेभ्यस्तृतीयासमर्थेभ्यो वर्ततइत्यर्थे इक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the words 'ojas,' 'sahas,' and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction.

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = ओजसिकः दूरः 'a hero' lit. possessed with energy. So also :—साहसिकः 'a thief,' आम्भसिकः 'a fish.'

तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्, प्रति-अनु-पूर्वम्, ईप-लोम-  
कूलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीया समर्थविभक्तिः । प्रति अनु इत्येवपूर्वेष्व ईपलोमकूलशब्देभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो व-  
र्तते इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix ङक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'īpa,' 'loma,' and 'kūla,' preceded by 'anu' and 'prati,' the word being in the second case in construction.

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction. The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case. Thus प्रतीपि वर्तते = प्रातीपिकः (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V. 4. 74 and VI. 3. 97) retrograde i. e. 'which is unfavourable.' So आनीपिकः 'favorable.' प्रतिलोमिकः 'inverse' आनुलोमिकः 'direct.' पतिकूलिकः, आनुकूलिकः The two words प्रातीपिक and आनीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively.

परिमुखं च ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमुखम्, च (ङक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमुखशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थार्थवर्तते इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ङक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus परिमुखं वर्तते = परिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'.

The word च in the sūtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned. As परिषाद्विकः ॥ The word परिमुख is an Avyayibhāva compound (II. 1. 12). If परि has the force of exclusion (I. 4. 88), then परिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा चः सेवको वर्तते,' and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यतः स्वामिनो मुखं तत्तस्ततो वर्तते" ॥

प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयच्छति, गर्ह्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थार्थप्रयच्छतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति, यत्तद् द्वितीयासमर्थं गर्ह्यं चे-  
न ब्रूवति ॥

वा० ॥ वृद्धेर्द्विभक्तौ ङक्यः ॥

30. The affix ङक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean.

Thus द्विगुणं प्रवृत्ति = द्विगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double' i. e. who charges cent per cent interest. The word द्विगुण means द्विगुणार्थ 'for the sake of double'. Similarly देवगुणिकः ॥

*Vart.*—The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुवि before this affix. As, वृद्धिं प्रवृत्ति = वार्धुविकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृधुवि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Why do we say गार्हन् 'with a mean motive? Observe द्विगुणं प्रवृत्ति अथर्हन्वः 'the debtor gives double'.

कुसीददशैकादशात् छन्दश्चौ ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुसीद, दश, एकादशात्, छन्द-  
श्चौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रवृत्ति गार्हन्वित्येव । कुसीद वृद्धि, स्तरयं इत्थं कुसीदन् । एकारस्यार्थं दश, दशैकारस्यनेनो-  
च्यन्ते । कुसीददशैकारस्यनेनार्थां यथासंख्यं दन् दन् इत्येते प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

31. The affixes छन् and छच् come respectively after the words 'kusīda' and 'dasaikādaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'.

The word कुसीद means 'interest'. The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकारस्य ॥ This sūtra debars दक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes दन् and दक् is in the accent (VI. 1. 197 and 163). Thus कुसीद + दन् = कुसीदिकः fem. कुसीदिकी (VI. 1. 41). So दशैकारस्यिकः fem दशैकी ॥

उच्छति ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उच्छति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थान् उच्छसीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे दक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix दक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans that'.

Thus दशैकारस्य उच्छति = दशैकारिकः 'who picks up jujubes'. दशैकारिकः, काणिकः ॥ To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उच्छ ॥

रक्षति ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थान् रक्षसीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे दक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix दक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'.

Thus समाजं रक्षति = सामाजिकः 'a spectator', lit. 'who aids an assembly by his presence'. So also सान्निवेशिकः ॥

शब्ददुर्ग करोति ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-दुर्गम्, करोति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां शब्ददुर्गशब्दाभ्यां करोतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix ठक् comes after the words 'Sabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking".

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes a sound' i. e. a Grammarian. So शार्दुरिकः 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i. e. a potter.

पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पक्षि, मत्स्य, मृगान्, हन्ति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वित्येव । पक्ष्यादिभ्यो द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यो हन्तीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पक्षिकः 'a bird-killer'. The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c. (See I. 1. 68). Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिकः, मायूरिकः, तैक्षिरिकः ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, जाल्पिकः, भैनिकः, शाफरिकः, शाकुलिकः ॥ So also with मृगः, as, मार्गिकः, शारिपिकः, लौक-रिकः, साष्टिकः ॥

परिपन्थञ्च तिष्ठति ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिपन्थम्, च, तिष्ठति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिपन्थशब्दात्तद्विति द्वितीयासमर्थान्तिष्ठतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction,

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिकः यः पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्नोति तिष्ठति 'a thief' lit. "who stays at roads, a high way man". The च in the sūtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last, is to be connected with this sūtra by the conjunction 'and'. Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिकः ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sūtra, why has then the word परिपन्थञ्च been shown in the second case in the sūtra, for it is a mere superfluity? No, it shows the secular form of the word. The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also.

माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ माथ-उत्तरपद, पदवी, अनुप-दम्, धावति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नायघञोऽनपराधातिपरिकात्परवी अनुपपद्येत्याभ्यां च भावरीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix इङ् comes, in the sense of “who runs”, after a word having नाय as its second term, and after the words ‘padaṁ’ and ‘anupada’.

Thus इङ्नायं भावति—इङ्नायिकः ‘who runs on a high way’. So also घोष्कनायिकः ॥ Similarly पारयिकः, आनुपयिकः ॥ The word नाय means ‘a way’.

आक्रन्दार्हइङ् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रन्दात्, इङ्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रन्दन्त्येतस्मिन्नित्याक्रन्दो वेद्यः । अथवा ऽऽक्रयतइत्याक्रन्द, आर्तावनमुच्यते । विद्येयभावाद् इत्येवमपि महत्तम् । आक्रन्दघञाच्चास्ति द्वितीयासनर्थोऽपराधीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् इङ् ॥

38. The affix इङ् as well as इङ् comes after the word ‘ākrandā’, being in the second case in construction, in the sense of ‘who runs’.

The word आक्रन्द means ‘a place where persons weep’ e. g. a battle-field. It also means ‘weeping’ ‘invoking’ &c. The difference between इङ् and इङ् is in the accent. Thus आक्रन्दं भावति—आक्रन्दिकः or आक्रन्दिकः, i. आक्रन्दिकी ‘a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard’.

पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद, उत्तरपदम्, गृह्णाति (इङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदघञ उत्तरपदे यस्य तस्मात्पदोत्तरपदघञाद् तस्मिन् द्वितीयासनर्थोऽपराधीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix इङ् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’, after a word having ‘pada’ as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction.

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति—पूर्वपदिकः, so also औत्तरपदिकः ॥ The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule when पद is preceded by the affix च ॥

प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिकण्ठ, अर्थ, ललामम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामघञेभ्यस्तस्मिन् द्वितीयासनर्थेभ्यो गृह्णातीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix इङ् comes in the sense of ‘who takes’ after the words ‘pratikantha’, ‘artha’, and ‘lalāma’ being in the second-case in construction.

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति—प्रतिकण्ठिकः ॥ So also आर्थिकः, ललामिकः ॥ The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayī-bhāva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and, not प्रतिगन्तः कण्ठं—प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added.

धर्मे चरति ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्मम्-चरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धर्मशब्दात्तरिति द्वितीयासमर्थाच्चरतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

धार्मिकम् ॥ अधर्माच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who practices that'.

Thus धर्मम् चरति = धार्मिकः "religious". So also अधर्माच्चरति = "irreligious, undutiful", by a Vārtika.

प्रतिपथमेति ठञ्च ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिपथं, पति, ठन्-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिपथशब्दाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद् एतीत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अकारादठक् च ॥

42. The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes'.

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 118) whilst ठन् does not.

समवायान् समवैति ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समवायान्, समवैति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समवायवाचिभ्यः शब्देभ्यस्तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थेभ्यः समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there'.

The word समवाय means 'combination, collection &c'. The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sūtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I. 1. 69) does not apply; the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also. समवैति means coming together. Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिकः 'who assembles in an assembly'. So also सामाजिकः, साधु-द्विकः, सान्निवेशिकः ॥

परिषदो ण्यः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषदो ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्विषये । ठकोपवादः ॥

44. The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad' in the sense of 'who assembles there',

This debarbs ठक् ॥ Thus परिषद् समवैति = परिषद्यः 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'.

सेनाया वा ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सेनायाः, वा (ण्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सेनाशब्दाद् वा ण्यः प्रत्ययो भवति समवायान्समवैतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठकोपवादः ॥

45. The affix **य्य** comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word **senā**.

This debars **इक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus **सेनां समवेति** = **सेन्यः** or **सेनिकः** 'a soldier, a member of an army'.

**संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुटयो पश्यति ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, ललाट, कुक्कुटयो पश्यति (उक्) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** ललाटकुक्कुटीयसंज्ञाभ्यां तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां पश्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे **उक्** प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

46. The affix **उक्** comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words '**lalāṭa**' and '**kukkuṭi**', in second case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus **ललाटं पश्यति** = **ललाटिकः** 'a non-attentive servant' lit. 'who always looks at the fore-head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof, does not come near to perform any work.' So also **कौक्कुटिकः** 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu.' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word **कुक्कुटी** ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance. Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the ground, and hence he is called **कौक्कुटिकः** ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down-cast eyes.'

**तस्य धर्मम् ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्य, धर्म्यं (उक्) ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** तस्येति षष्ठीसमर्थाद् धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे **उक्** प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix **उक्** comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'.

The word **धर्म्यं** means 'usual,' 'relating to custom'. The word **तस्य** shows the case of the word. Thus **शुल्कशालाया धर्म्यं** = **शौल्कशालिकः** 'the custom-house laws or usages.' So also **भाकरिकम्, आपणिकम्, गौत्मिकम् ॥**

**अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण्-महिष्यादिभ्यः ॥**

**वृत्तिः ॥** महिषीत्येवमादिभ्यो ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्म्यमित्येतस्मिन्विषये । **उकोपवाहः ॥**

48. The affix **अण्** comes in the sense of 'its law,' after the word '**mahishī**' &c.

This debars **थक्**. Thus **महिष्या धर्म्यं** = **माहिषम्** 'the usages of queens.' So **म्राजावतम् ॥**

1 महिषी, 3 म्राजावति°, 3 म्राजावती, 4 मलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुणेहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ, 11 वज्रनाग.

श्रुतो ऽञ् ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुतः, अञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुतरान्ताप्यातिपरिकारम् प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य धर्ममित्येतस्मिन् विषये । उक्तोपवादः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नराधेतिवक्तव्यम् ॥ वा० ॥ विशसितुर्दिलोपम् ॥ वा० ॥ विभाजयितुर्दिलोपम् ॥

49. The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law,' after a nominal-stem ending in श्रु ॥

This debars उक् ॥ Thus पोटु धर्म्यम् = पौत्रम् 'the office of a Potri.' औद्राचम् 'the office or duties of an Udgātri.' Padamanjarī gives the example of होतु धर्म्यम् under this sūtra, though the word होतु occurs in the list given in the preceding sūtra. The Hotri of the preceding sūtra means a Ritvik, here it means an invoker.

Vart :—So also after the word नरः As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vart :—So also after the word विशसितु, the इद् affix being elided. Thus विशसितु + अञ् = वैशस्यम् ॥

Vart :—So also after the word विभाजयितु, its णि affix also being elided. Thus विभाजयितु + अञ् = वैभाज्यम् ॥

अवक्रयः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अव क्रयः (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । षष्ठीसमर्थावक्रय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति । अवक्रीणीत ऽनेनेत्यवक्रयः ॥

50. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'its tax,' after a word in the sixth case in construction.

The word अवक्रय means 'Government-tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent' &c, coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase.' Thus गुल्कशालाया अवक्रयः = शौल्कशालिकः. So also आपणिकः, गौत्मिकः, आकारिकः ॥

Are not धर्म्य (IV. 4. 47) and अवक्रय the same? No. Dharmya is a legal due, and religious ; while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression, and so transgressing dharma.

तदस्य पण्यम् ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्, अस्य, पण्यम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थादस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तद्यथमासमर्थे पण्यं चेत्तद्वति ॥

51. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपः पण्यं अस्य = आपूपिकः 'a cake-vendor.' So also चाण्डूलिकः, मोरकिकः &c.

लवणादुक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लवणात्, उक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लवणशब्दादुक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन् विषये । उक्तोपवादः ॥



52. The affix **ठक्** comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavana.'

This debars **ठक्**, the difference being in accent. Thus तदस्य पण्यमस्य-  
लवणिकः 'a salt-vendor.'

किशरादिभ्यः छन् ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ किशरादिभ्यः, छन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किशर इत्येवमादिभ्यः छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । ङकोपचारः ॥

53. The affix **छन्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kiśara' &c.

This debars **ठक्** ॥ The word किशर &c all denote perfumes. Thus किशराः पण्यमस्य-किंशरिकः । किशरिकी (IV. 1 41), नैपरिकः । नैपरिकी ॥

1 किशर (किशर), 2 मरह, 3 मलह, 4 स्यागल\*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु, 7 उषीर, 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु\*, 10 पर्णी\*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रावर्णी.

शालालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शालालुनः, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शालालुपञ्चाशदन्यतरस्यां छन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य पण्यमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । ङकोपचारः । पक्षेऽपि भवति ॥

54. The affix **छन्** comes optionally, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity' 'after the word 'salāluṇ'.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. शालालु is a kind of sweet scent. Thus शालालु पण्यमस्य-शालालुकः । शालालुकी ॥ In the alternative with **ठक्**, शालालुक्; । शालालुकी ॥

शिल्पम् ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्विति प्रथमासमर्थास्त्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे ङक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थे शिल्पं चेत्तद्वदिति ॥

55. The affix **ठक्** comes in the sense of 'this is whose Art,' after a word denoting Art, in the first case in construction.

Thus मृदङ्गवादनं शिल्पमस्य-मार्दङ्गिकः "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mridanga drum". So also पाणविकः, वैष्णिकः ॥

मद्दुक्कदृशरीरादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मद्दुक्क, दृशरीरात्, अण्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मद्दुक्कदृशरीरादन्त्यान्यतरस्यामन् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य शिल्पमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । ङकोपचारः ॥

56. The affix **अण्** comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose Art', after the words 'madduka', and 'jharjhara'.

This debars **ठक्** which comes in the alternative. Thus मद्दुक्कवादनं शिल्पमस्य-मद्दुक्कः or मद्दुक्किकः, so दृशरीरः and दृशरीरिकः ॥

प्रहरणम् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रहरणम् (उक्)

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थदत्तेति षष्ठ्यर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तद्व्ययमासमर्थे प्रहरणं चे-  
न्नङ्गवति ॥

57. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the 1st case in construction.

Thus मतिः प्रहरणमस्य = भासिकः 'a swordsman'. So मासिकः, चाक्रिकः,  
धानुष्कः ॥

परम्बधाद् उक् च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परम्बधाद्, उक्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परम्बधशब्दात् उक् प्रत्ययो भवति, चकारात् उक् ॥

58. The affix उक् as well as उक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the word परम्बध ॥

This affix उक् is added by च, the difference being in accent. Thus पारद्वधिकः or पारद्वधिकः ॥ परम्बध means 'an axe'.

शक्तियष्टयोरीकम् ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति-यष्टयोः, ईकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तियष्टिशब्दाभ्यामीकम् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य प्रहरणमित्येतस्मिन्निषये । उक्पोषवाकः ॥

59. The affix ईकम् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'sakti' and 'yashṭi'.

This debars उक् ॥ Thus शक्तिः प्रहरणमस्य = शाक्तीकः, So also यादीकः ॥

अस्तिनास्तिदिष्टं मतिः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्तिनास्ति-दिष्टम्-मतिः (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थेभ्यो अस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट इत्येतेभ्यः शब्देभ्यो अत्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तद्व्ययमासमर्थे मतिर्नैतन्नङ्गवति ॥

60. The affix उक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nasti' and 'dishta'.

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = भास्तिकः 'who believes that It is' i. e. a here after. नास्तिकः 'whose belief is that there is no Here after', an athiest. दैष्टिकः 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'.

The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief. Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स भास्तिकः, an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is. Contrary to him is a नास्तिकः who does not believe in a Hereafter. A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिकः 'a positivist'. These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature.

शीलम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शीलम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थस्त्विति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति वसत्ययमासमर्थे शीलं चे-  
द्वदति ॥

61. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षणं शीलमस्य-आपूपिकः 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'. Similarly शाष्कुलिकः, मौसिकः ॥ The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix.

छत्रादिभ्यो णः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ छत्रादिभ्यः, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छत्र इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यो णः प्रत्ययो भवति तस्य शीलमित्येतस्मिन्निषयोऽङ्कोपवादः ॥

62. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after the words 'chhatra &c'.

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्रं शीलमस्य-छात्रः 'a pupil', lit. 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the defects of his master'. The word स्या occurs in the list. It must always be prefixed by some upasarga; thus आस्या, संस्या, अवस्या &c.

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुच्छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्य-  
च्छत्रवत् छात्रः "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella". Or शिष्येण च गुरुच्छत्रवत् परिपाल्यः 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his Preceptor, as an Umbrella'.

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्या (आस्या, संस्या, अवस्या), 5 वृत्ता, 6 वृत्त, 7 तितिक्षा, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (धृषि), 10 कर्मन्, 11 विवधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनृत, 15 विशिक्षा, 16 विशिका (शिचका), 17 भक्षा, 18 उदस्थान, 19 पुरोडा (!), 20 विशा, 21 कु-  
शा, 22 नम्र.

कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म, अध्ययने, वृत्तम् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थस्त्विति षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति वनध्ययमासमर्थे कर्म चे-  
द्वृत्तमध्ययनविषयं भवति ॥

63. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occurring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vritam) in study (adhyayana).

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य-ऐकान्यिकः 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c. literal translation being something like "one errorist". Similarly द्वैयन्यिकः द्वैयन्यिकः &c. He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading,

is called ऐकान्यिकः ॥ So who commits two mistakes is called द्वैबन्धिकः ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्तिकः &c, the whole phrase अभ्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed.

बहुवचपूर्वपदादुक् ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुवचं, पूर्व पदात्, उक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बहुवचं पूर्वपरं यस्य तस्माद् बहुवचपूर्वपराव्यातिपादिकाद् उक् प्रत्ययो भवति तदस्य कर्माभ्ययने वृत्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । उक्तोपवाहः ॥

64. The affix उक् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member.

This debars उक् ॥ Thus:—द्वावृत्तान्यानि कर्माभ्यययने वृत्तानि भवत्य-द्वावृत्तान्यिकः 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading'. So चतुर्वृत्तान्यिकः, षतुर्वृत्तान्यिकः ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sūtras means the 'error', especially in accent, i. e. he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udatta, or *vice versa*.

हितं भक्षाः ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हितम्-भक्षाः (उक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदस्येत्येव । तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोदस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं हितं, येषां भवति तच्च भक्षाः ॥

65. The affix उक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom".

The words तद् and अस्य (IV. 4. 51) are understood. The word हितं governs dative (II. 3. 13, Vart). But the sūtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षाः, the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz. तदस्मै हितं भक्षाः 'this for whom is wholesome diet'. The best way however, to remove this objection is to read sūtras 65, and 66 in this wise : 65 हितं भक्षाः तदस्मै and दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ Thus अपूपंभक्षणं हितमस्मै-आपूपिकः 'He for whom cake is good food' i. e. who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes. So also शाष्कुलिकः, मौरिकिकः ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिकः &c, the word हितं or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed.

तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-अस्मै-दीयते-नियुक्तम्-उक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति प्रथमासमर्थोद् अस्मादाति चतुर्थ्यर्थे उक् प्रत्ययो भवति यत्तत्प्रथमासमर्थं, तथेदीयते नियुक्तम् ॥

66. The affix उक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given right fully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai).

The word शीयते नियुक्तं means नियोगेन i. e. अव्यभिचारेण शीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully'. Thus अये भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं शीयते = आममोजनिकः 'a Brāhmaṇa always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'. So also आपूपिकः 'entitled to get cakes', चाप्लुलिकः ॥ Some say that the word नियुक्तं means निवृत्तं 'always'. According to them आपूपिकः would mean अपूपा नित्यमस्मै शीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'.

आणामांसोदनाद्विठन् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदादि ॥ आणा-मांस-भोदनात्, विठन् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ आणामांसोदनशब्दार्थां टिठन् प्रत्ययी भवति तदस्मै शीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । ङकोपवाहः ।

67. The affix टिठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मांसोदन ॥

This टिठन् debars ङक् ॥ The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ट् indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15). Thus आणा नियुक्तमस्मै शीयते = आपिकः f. आपिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel'. So also मांसोदनिकः f. मांसोदनिकी ॥

The difference between ङक् and टिठन् is in accent, the former having udātta on the final (VI. 1. 165), the latter on the initial (VI. 1. 197). The feminine of ङक् and टिठन् will both be formed by ङीप् (IV. 1. 15). Now the affix ङम् resembles टिठन् both in accent (VI. 1. 197) and in feminine (IV. 1. 15). Why was not ङम् used instead of टिठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same forms? True, as regards the words आणा and मांसोदन the affix ङम् might have been employed instead of टिठन् ॥ According to some, however, the affix टिठन् applies to मांस and भोदन separately also. But ङम् cannot be applied to भोदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII. 2. 117) which टिठन् does not. Thus भोदन + टिठन् = भोदनिकः, f. भोदनिकी ॥ With ङम् the form would have been भोदनिकः which is not wanted.

The word आणा is a Past Participle (क्त) of आ 'to cook.' The आ is not changed to ऋ as required by VI. 1. 27. This is an anomaly. The nisthā ण is changed to ञ (VIII. 2. 43). The form आता is also found, as in VI. 1. 36, and the regular form is एत = सीरप् (VI. 1. 27).

भक्तादन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदाति ॥ भक्ताद्-अण्-अन्यतरस्याम् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तशब्दाद् प्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्यां तदस्मै शीयते नियुक्तमित्येतस्मिन् विषये ङकोपवाहः ॥

68. The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully.'

This debars ङक् which comes in the alternative. Thus भक्तमस्मै शीयते नियुक्तं = भक्तः ॥ In the alternative भक्तिकः 'a regularly fed' i. e. a retainer.

तत्र नियुक्तः ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-नियुक्तः(ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीतमर्थान्नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति । नियुक्ते अधिकृतो व्यापारित इत्यर्थः ॥

69. The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction..

Thus शुल्कशालायां नियुक्तः = शौल्कशालिकः 'a superintendent of custom-house.' So also आकारिकः, भाषाणिकः, गौलमिकः, सैवारिकः ॥ The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tat-purusha compound formed by II. 1. 46. The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV. 1. 60, hence its repetition here.

अगारान्ताड्ठन् ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अगारान्तात्, ठन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अगारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र नियुक्त इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । ठकोपचारः ॥

70. The affix ठन् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agāra.'

This debarbs ठक् । The difference is in accent and want of Vṛiddhi. Thus देवागारे नियुक्तः = देवागारिकः, कोष्ठागारिकः, भाण्डागारिकः ॥

अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्यायिनि-अदेशकालात् (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । सप्तमीतमर्थान्देशवाचिनः प्रातिपदिकादकालवाचिनश्चाध्यायिन्यभिधेये ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time.

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes. अध्यायिन् means one who studies. Thus श्मशानेऽधीते = श्मशानिकः 'who reads in a funeral ground.' चतुष्पाथिकः 'who studies where four roads meet.' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातुर्दशिकः, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day.' So also आनावायिकः ॥

Why do we say 'improper time and place?' Observe जुप्तेऽधीते, पूर्वाह्नेऽधीते ॥

कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कठिन-अन्त, प्रस्तार-संस्थानेषु, व्यवहरति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेत्येव । कठिनशब्दान्तात्सप्तमीतमर्थान् प्रस्तारसंस्थानशब्दान्थां च ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति व्यवहरीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ॥

72. The affix. ठक् comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina.

and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in seventh case in construction.

Thus बांशकदिने व्यवहृते = बांशकदिनिकः 'whose occupation is in a bamboo-thicket' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i.e. तस्मिन्नेवे वा क्रिया वधानुष्ठेया तां वधेयानुविष्ठेति ॥ So also बांशकदिनिकः ॥ So also प्रास्तादिकः, सांत्थानिकः ॥

निकटे वसति ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ निकटे-वसति (ठक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निकटशब्दात्सप्तमीसप्तम्यां वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikaṭa.'

This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations. Thus आरण्यकाः are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations. नैकटिकाः are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations. Thus निकटे वसत नैकटिकः 'an ascetic.'

आवसथात् छल् ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आवसथात्-छल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वषेत्येव । आवसथशब्दात्सप्तमीसप्तम्यां वसतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

74. The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction.

The लृ of छल् is for accent (VI. 1. 193), the ष् is for झिष् (IV. 1. 41). Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिकः 'who dwells in a house' i.e. a domestic person as opposed to an ascetic. The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV. 4. 1. Henceforward other affixes will be ordained.

प्राग्घिताद्यत् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्राग्-घितात्, यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्मै हितमिति वक्ष्यति । प्राग्घितस्माद्धितसंघट्टनाद्यानिव ऊर्ध्वमनुकर्मिण्यामो यत्प्रत्ययस्ते-  
ष्वधिकृतो वेदितव्यः ।

75. In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V, 1. 5), the affix यत् bears rule.

Thus in the next sūtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥  
रथः, युग्मः, प्रासङ्गः ॥

तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्-वहति-रथ-युग-प्रासङ्गम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहति द्वितीयासप्तम्यो रथयुगप्रासङ्गो वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prāsanga', being in the second case in construction.

Thus रथं वहति = रथः 'what bears a car' a carriage-horse. Similarly युग्यः 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्यः 'being trained in a break'. प्रासङ्ग is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking. This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as, परमरथः ॥ See IV. 3. 121, 123 also. That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढु therefore रथस्य वोढु will get the affix यत् by IV. 2. 120. read with IV. 3. 121. Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV. 1. 88. Thus ह्यो रथो वहति = हिरथः ॥ The tadanta-vidhi applies to this word as we have shown under 3. 121. The word युग्य has been already formed by the kṛit affix (III. 1. 121), that युग्य differs from the present, in accent when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by न्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI. 2. 156, अयुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युगं must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c. Therefore not here युगं वहति रात्रा कनि क्षापरे वा ॥

धुरो यद्दकौ ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ धुरः-यत्-दकौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । धुर इत्येतस्माद् द्वितीयासमर्थ्याद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् दक् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

77. The affix यत् and दक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction,

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII. 2. 77 is prevented by VII. 2. 79 because धुर is Bha-stem, or धौरेकः (formed by दक् VII. 1. 2) 'a beast of burden'. This sūtra might have stood as धुरो दक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV. 4. 75.

खः सर्वधुरात् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ खः-सर्वधुरात् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । सर्वधुराद्यन्नाद् द्वितीयासमर्थ्याद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction.

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII. 1. 2). The affix ख applies to other compounds also ending in धुर, e. g. उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर (II. 1. 49), the samāsanta अ being added by V. 4. 74. The word धूः being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II. 4. 26. The word सर्वधुरात् in the sūtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulat-



ing the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word. In fact सर्वधुर in the sūtra should be taken as a nominal-stem or pratipadika equal to सर्वधुरा ॥

एकधुरात्लुक् च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एक-धुरात्-लुक् च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । एकधुराच्चन्द्राद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे खः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्त्व लुग्भवति ॥

79. The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'eka-dhurā' in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also.

The elision is optional. Thus एकधुरां वहति = एकधुरीणः or एकधुरः ॥ The compounding is taddhitārtha (एकां धुरं वहति) to which is added the samāsānta अ, and then the affix ख ॥

शकटादण् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शकटात्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । शकटश्चाच्चाद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction.

Thus शकटं वहति = शाकटः 'an ox' i. e. what bears a car. This could be evolved by तत्त्वैव अण् as शाकटस्त्व बोध = शाकटः ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशकटः, and the affix is not elided (IV. 1. 88).

हलसीरादठक् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलसीरात्-ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । हलसीराच्चन्द्राभ्यां द्वितीयासमर्थाभ्यां वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the words 'hala' and 'sira,' in the 2nd case in construction.

Thus हलं वहति = हालिकः a ploughman सैरिकः 'a plough ox.' The ठक् would have come by IV. 3. 124, the specification shows tadantavidhi and non-elision, as द्वैहालिकः, द्वैसीरिकः ॥

संज्ञायां जन्याः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्-जन्याः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वहतीत्येव । जनीचन्द्राद् द्वितीयासमर्थाद्वहतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

82. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it' after the word 'janī,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name.

Thus अनी वहति = अन्वः 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem. अन्वाः 'a brides-maid.' The word अनी means 'bride.' अन्वा lit. means 'what bears the bride' i. e. who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c.

विध्यत्यधनुषा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विध्यति-अधनुषा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् विद्यतीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति न चैधनुष्कारणं भवति ॥

83. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it,' after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced.

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पैयाः (VI. 3. 53) चर्कराः, 'what pierce the feet' i. e. pebbles. ऊरव्याः कण्टकाः 'thorns' i. e. what pierce the thigh.

Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here. This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c. Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौरं विध्यति, शत्रुं विध्यति ॥

धनगणं लब्धा ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ धन-गणम्-लब्धा (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तदित्येव । धनगणश्चास्यां द्वितीयासमर्थायां लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

84. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction.

Thus धनं लब्धा = धन्यः, so also गण्यः ॥ लब्ध् is formed from लभ् by लृट्, hence it takes the accusative.

अन्नाणः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्नात्-णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नश्चात्तादिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् लब्धेत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे णः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

85. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction.

Thus अन्नं लब्धा = आन्नः 'fed' 'who has obtained food.'

वशं गतः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वशम्-गतः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वशश्चात्तादिति द्वितीयासमर्थाद् गत इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वत्वप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vasa, 'control' being in the second case in construction.

Thus वशगतः = वैश्यः 'come under control' i. e. subdued i. e. a dependant or servant. वशः = काम इच्छा तां प्राप्तः i. e. परेष्ठानुगामी ॥

पदमस्मिन् दृश्यम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पदम्-अस्मिन्-दृश्यम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव प्रथमा सनर्थाविभक्तिः । पदशब्दाव्ययमासनर्थाद् दृश्यायोपाधिकारस्मिन्निवि सप्तम्यर्थे बलव्ययो भवति ॥

87. The affix पद comes in the sense of 'in it is visible,' after the word 'pada,' being in the first case in construction.

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन्-पदाः कर्म 'mud' lit. soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step. It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot. So पदाः पांसवः 'dust' for in it also the impression of the foot can be seen. It also means 'the foot-path.' The word दृश्यम् means दृश्यते इदम् this being the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश् ॥

मूलमस्याबाहि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूलम्-अस्य-आबाहि-(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूलशब्दाव्ययमासनर्थाबाहिरित्येवमुपाधिकारस्येति षष्ठ्यर्थे बलव्ययो भवति । मूलनेपानाबाहि ॥

88. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mūla,' being in the first case in construction.

The word आबाहि from उद् 'to up root,' means 'uprooting,'-उत्पादनं ॥ मूलनेपानाबाहि-ईश्याः 'a kind of pulse' e. g. गुप्ता । मन्नाः ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant. According to Padamanjari the word should be आबाहि and not आबाहि, with a व and not ब ॥

संज्ञायां धेनुष्या ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां-धेनुष्या-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेनुष्येति निपात्यते संज्ञायां विषये । संज्ञाग्रहणमभिधेयनियमार्थम् ॥

89. The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name.

This word is formed by adding डक् and ब to धेनु ॥ It has udātta on the final. धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk. It is also called पीतकुम्भा ॥ As धेनुष्या भवते इति ॥

गृहपतिना संयुक्ते ञ्यः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ गृहपतिना-संयुक्ते-ञ्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव तृतीया सनर्थाविभक्तिः । गृहपतिशब्दास्तृतीयासनर्थात्संयुक्तस्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ञ्यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'grahapati' in the third case in construction.

Thus गृहपतिना संयुक्तः = गार्हपत्यः 'the Gārhapatya Fire': i. e. a Fire particularly consecrated by the Householder. The word संज्ञायौ of the last sūtra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्यः means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gārhapatya. That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshināgni. Or that fire in which Grihapati hymns are recited is called Gārhapatya.

नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवद्भानाम्यसमसमित सम्मितेषु ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ-वयो-धर्म-विष-मूल-मूल-सीता-तुलाभ्यः-तार्य-तुल्य-प्राप्य-वद्भानाम्य-सम-समित-सम्मितेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नावादिभ्यो ऽऽभ्यः घटेभ्यो ऽऽत्वेव तार्यादिष्वर्थेषु वयासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured".

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that it should be so. Thus.

1. नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', lit. what can be crossed by a boat.
2. वयसा तुल्यः = वयस्यः 'a friend', lit. one alike in age.
3. धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma. Could not this form have been evolved by the next sūtra धर्मादनपेते (IV. 4. 92)? No, धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just'. The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'.
4. विषेण वद्धः = विट्यः 'who deserves to be put to death by poison'.
5. मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit. or to be overpowered or bent by the root". The word भानाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix प्यत् contrary to rule III. 1. 98 which required यत्), means भविष्यम् 'what ought to be overpowered': hence मूल्यम् means 'the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out-lay of stock or capital (मूल); 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mūlyam, the capital or mūla is overpowered.
6. मूलेन समः = मूल्यः 'purchasable' lit. 'equivalent to capital' e. g. cloth पटः i. e. equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital.

7. सीतया समितं = सीत्वं 'a field'. lit. 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne. The word समितं is equivalent to संगतं 'united with' according to Kāsika. सीत्वं therefore literally means 'a ploughed field' i. e. 'what is united with furrows'. The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e. g. परमसीत्वं, वनमसीत्वं, विसीत्वं ॥
8. तुलया समितं = तुल्यम् "equal" lit. 'meted by the balance'. समित् means समानं, सदृशं ॥

*Note* :—The fruits of good deeds, like happiness &c, which are attainable or prāpya through 'dharma', may be said also dharmād anapota because an effect must have a cause. Hence arises the doubt as to what is the difference between this and the next sūtra. The 'anapota' in the next sūtra means the fulfilling or following the Law established by the Śhishthas, and has no reference to its fruits. Because the effect of dharma is to destroy dharma—i. e. the fruits in the shape of happiness &c lessen, and ultimately extinguish the dharma. Therefore, the fruit of dharma, which is to be taken in this sūtra, as referred to by the word prāpya, is diametrically opposed to the practising of dharma, referred to by the word anapota of the next sūtra.

धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ धर्म-पथि-अर्थ-न्यायात्-अनपेते(यत्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव पञ्चमी समर्थविभक्तिः । धर्मादिभ्यः पञ्चमीसमर्थेभ्योऽनपेत्तइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वक्ष्य-  
स्यो भवति ॥

92. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyāya' being in the ablative case in construction.

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sūtra itself. Thus धर्मादनपेत् = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit.' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्राद्यान् पथो यदनपेत् तन् पथ्यं, न तु तस्मादनपेत्तदचोरः 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit,' न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable.' The word संज्ञायाम् (IV 4. 89) governs this sūtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings.

छन्दसो निर्मिते ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसः-निर्मिते (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययार्थसामर्थ्यलभ्या समर्थविभक्तिः । छन्दः शब्दात्सृष्टीयासमर्थान्निर्मितइत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वक्ष्य-  
स्यो भवति ॥

93. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction.

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितः = छन्दस्यः 'made at will.' The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda.'

उरसो ऽण् च ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उरसः, अण्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उरः शब्दात्पृथगीयासमर्थान्निर्मित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराण्यच ॥

94. The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras', in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made.'

The यत् is drawn into the sūtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मितः = श्रीरसं 'own son not adopted, lit. produced through the loins.' With यत् the form will be उरस्यः ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 89) governs this sūtra also.

हृदयस्य प्रियः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृदयस्य-प्रियः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । हृदयशब्दात्पृथगीसमर्थान् प्रिय इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे बल्यत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hridaya,' in the genitive case in construction.

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself. Thus हृदयस्य प्रियः = हृद्यः 'pleasant to the heart.' e. g. हृद्यो देवः, हृद्यं वनम् ॥ But we cannot say हृद्यः पुत्रः, the word संज्ञायां (IV. 4. 99) governs this sūtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word.

बन्धने चर्षौ ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बन्धने-च-ऋषौ (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृदयस्येत्येव । बन्धन इति प्रत्ययार्थः । तद्विशेषणमृषिमहणम् । बद्धते येन तद्बन्धनम् । हृदयशब्दात्पृथगीसमर्थान्बन्धने ऋषावभिधेये यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hridaya,' being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'.

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sūtra. The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धन ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vedic hymn. Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषि = हृद्यः 'the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i. e. a वशीकरण मन्त्रः ॥

मतजनहलात् करणजल्पकर्मेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत-जन-हलात्, करण-जल्प-कर्मेषु (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतादिभ्यश्चिन्धः शब्देभ्यश्चिन्धेव करणादिपुंथेषु यथासंख्यं यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the senses respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction.

Thus मत्स्य करणं=मैत्र्यः 'the means of acquiring knowledge'. जनस्य जल्पः=जैन्मः 'a rumour'. हलस्य कर्षः=हैन्मः 'ploughed'. So also दिहन्मः, विहन्मः, the tadanta vidhi applies रयसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

तत्र साधुः ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र-साधुः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रेति सप्तमीसमर्थात् साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे वयस्यवो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto'.

Thus सामसु साधुः=सामन्त्र्यः (VI. 4. 168) conversant with the Sāma-Veda'. So also वैमन्त्र्यः, कर्मण्यः, धारम्यः &c. The word साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य 'expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक 'a benefactor or a good person'. When the sense is that of 'good', the sūtra तस्मै हितम् (V. 1. 5) will apply.

प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खड्ग ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः-खड्ग ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रतिजनादिभ्यः घञ्भेदः खड्ग प्रत्यये भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे । यतोपवादः ॥

99. The affix खड्ग comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto', after the word 'pratijana' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधुः=प्रातिजनीनः (VII. 1. 2) 'suitable against an adversary', or 'who is excellent for every person'. So also एवं युगीनः, सांयुगीनः ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 द्वयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग, 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल, 9 सर्वजन, 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन ॥

भक्ताण्यः ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ भक्तात्, णः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भक्तघट्टात् णः प्रत्यये भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

100. The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta'.

This debars यत्; thus, भक्ते साधुः=भान्नः घालिः 'rice' lit. suitable or excellent for food. भान्नं स्तण्डुलाः ॥

परिषदोऽप्यः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिषद्, ण्यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिषद्घट्टात् ण्यः प्रत्यये भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषये । यतोपवादः ॥

101. The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'parishada'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषद्यः ॥ The affix ण्य is also employed here. Thus परिषदि साधुः=पारिषदः 'one versed in the affairs of a council' 'a minister'.

कथादिभ्यष्टक् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कथादिभ्यः, ठक् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्टक् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे । यतोपवादः ॥

102. The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathā' &c.

Thus कथायां साधुः=काथिकः (कथा+ठक्=कप्+ठक् VI. 4. 148=काप्+इक् VII. 2. 116) 'a narrator of stories'. So वैकथिकः &c.

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विभक्तया\*, 4 संकथा\*, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुट विद्, कुटाचित्) 7 जनवाद, 8 अनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद\* (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 संमह (सम्पह), 12 गुण, 13 गण, 14 भायुर्वेद ॥

गुडादिभ्यष्टञ् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुडादिभ्यः, ठञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुडादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यष्टञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे । यतोपवादः ॥

103. The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'gudā' &c.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधुः=गौडिकः 'sugar-cane' lit. 'excellent in making sugar'. So कौलमाषिकः 'a kind of pulse' lit. 'excellent for making gruel'. साक्तुकः 'barley' lit. suitable for making saktu.

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसोदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 संभाम, 9 संपात, 10 संक्रान्, 11 संवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास. ॥ --

पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्दञ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ पथि-अतिथि-वसति-स्वपतेः दञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पथ्यादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यो दञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे । यतोपवादः ॥

104. The affix दञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'.

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधुः=पाथेयम् (VII. 1. 2) 'provision for journey'. आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेयं 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रिः, स्वाप्रतेयम् 'wealth, property'.

समाया यः ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समायाः, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समायाश्चायः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे यतोपवादः ॥

105. The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhā' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III. 1. 3, and VI. 1. 185) Thus समायां साधुः=सभ्यः 'refined' lit. fit for society.

दृढच्छन्दसि ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृढः, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समायाश्चाइ दृः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र साधुरित्येतस्मिन्निषदे छन्दसि । यस्यापवादः ॥



106. The affix **ढ** comes in the chhandas after the word 'sabha,' in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto.'

This debars **ब** ॥ Thus सभेढः in सभेढोत्थं शुभा ब्रजमानस्व वीरो जायताम् 'let a refined, youthful hero be born to this sacrificer'.

समानतीर्थे वासी ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समानतीर्थे, वासी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ साधुपति निवृत्तम् । वासीति प्रत्ययार्थः, समानतीर्थं गच्छाच्च भवेति सप्तमीसमर्थावासीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे ब-  
व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

107. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'resident, therein', after the word 'samāna-tīrtha', in the locative construction.

The anuvṛitti of साधुः now ceases. The word तीर्थ means here शुद्ध 'Preceptor'. Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी-सतीर्थः (VI. 3. 87)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor.

समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्तः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-उदरे-शयितः, ओ-  
च-उदात्तः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानोदरं गच्छात्सप्तमीसमर्थाच्छयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे व्यत्ययो भवति ओकारचोदात्तः ॥

108. The affix **यत्** comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sāmānodara' in the locative construction, and the udātta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयितः is equal to स्थितः 'remain'. Thus समानोदरे शयितः-स-  
मानोदर्यः 'uterine brother' i. e. who has slept in the same womb. See VI. 3. 88.

सोदराद्य ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोदरात्, यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोदराद्यश्चात्सप्तमीसमर्थात् शयित इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix **य** comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction.

By sūtra VI. 3. 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows. Thus समानोदरे शयितः-सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udātta, as it was in the last ; the udātta here falls on ब ॥

भवे छन्दसि ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ भवे-छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्नेत्येव । सप्तमीसमर्थाद्भव इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे छन्दसि विषये व्यत्ययो भवति । मणारीनां पादीनां चापवादः ॥

110. The affix **यत्** comes in the Chhandas, after a word in the locative case in construction, in the sense of 'what stays there.'

This debars अण्, ष &c (IV. 3, 53). Those affixes also are employed in the alternative, there being much latitude of grammatical rules in the Vedas. Thus the words भवेः and विदुष्य in the following hymn of the Yajur Veda (16. V. 38): नमो भवेः च विदुष्य च ॥ All the sūtras henceforward up to the end of the chapter, are Vedic sūtras, the word छन्दसि being understood in them all. The word भवे governs all the sūtras up to IV. 4. 118.

पाथोनदीभ्यां ङ्यण् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाथः-नदीभ्याम्-ङ्यण् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पाथञ्जाम्नादीभ्याम् ङ्यण् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

111. The affix ङ्यण् comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'pāthas' and 'nadi,' whereby the last vowel, with the consonant following, is elided.

This debars बन् ॥ Thus पाथसि भवः-पाथ्यः, so also नाथः ॥ As in the following hymns : तमुत्वा पाथ्यो वृषा, च नो रधीत नाथो गिरो मे ॥ पाथः means firmament.

वेशन्तहिमवद्भ्यामण् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशन्त-हिमवत् भ्याम्, अण् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ वेशन्तश्चाद्भिमवच्छब्दाच्चाण् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

112. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there' after the words 'vesanta' and 'himavat.'

This debars बन् ॥ Thus वेशन्तीभ्यः स्वाहा, हिमवतीभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

स्रोतसो विभाषा ङ्यङ्ङ्यौ ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्रोतसः विभाषा, ङ्यत्-ङ्यौ ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्रोतश्चाद्भाविभाषा ङ्यत् ङ्यौ इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

113. The affixes ङ्यत् and ङ्यौ come optionally in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word 'srotas', and before these affixes the final syllable अस् of srotas is elided.

This debars बन् which comes in the alternative. As स्रोतसि भवः-स्रोतः or स्रोतुः the difference being in the accent (III. 1. 3 and VI. 1. 185). The anubandha ङ् causes the elision of अस् of स्रोतस् ॥ When बन् is added the form is स्रोतस्वः ॥

सगर्भसयूथसनुतायन् ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सगर्भ-सयूथ-सनुतात्, यन् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सगर्भसयूथसनुतायन्नेभ्यो यन् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्च भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

114. The affix यन् comes in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the words 'sagarbha,' 'sayûtha' and sanuta.'

This debars ङत् the difference being in accent (VI. 1. 197). Thus अनुभाता सन्धः 'a younger brother'. अनुसखासङ्गः 'a younger friend'. So also को नः सन्धः उत वा जिपन्तु thief lit. 'who stays in a concealed place', sanuta meaning 'concealed' (see Rig Veda II. 31. 9). The word समान is always changed into स in the Chhandas (VI. 3. 84).

तुग्रात् घञ् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुग्रात्, घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुमघञ्दात् घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

115. The affix घञ् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there,' after the word, tugra.'

This debars ङत् ॥ Thus तुमिः as त्वमने वृषभस् तुमिहर्जा ॥ Which assumes the form तुमघ् tugrya also. As भावः घमस् वृषभं तुमघासु (Rig Veda I. 34. 15) Tugrya meaning 'sunk in the waters'. The word तुम means 'food, firmament, sacrifice and varishṭha'.

अग्राद्यत् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्रात्-यत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमघञ्दाद्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ।

116. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra',

Thus अये भव-अय्यम् ॥ Why this separate rule, for ङत् would have come after अग्र by the general rule IV. 4. 110? The repetition is to show that ङत् is not debarred by च and छ of the next sūtra, which would have been the case, had this sūtra not existed.

घञ्छौ च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ घञ्-छौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमघञ्दाद्यत् घञ्छौ प्रत्ययो भवस्तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे ।

117. The affixes 'ghach' and 'chha' come in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the word 'agra.'

Thus अय्यम् (by ङत्), अमीयम् (by छ) and अभिर्वय (by चञ्). And अभिर्वय (by घञ्) from IV. 4. 115. See R. V. I. 13. 10 (Sāyana) इहत्वर्दारमन्त्रियम् ॥

समुद्राभाद् घः ॥ ११८ ॥ पदादि ॥ समुद्र-अभात्-घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुद्रसंज्ञावभ्रघञ्दाद्यत् घः प्रत्ययो भवति तत्र भव इत्येतस्मिन्निषेधे । यतोपवादः ॥

118. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'samudra' and 'abhra'.

This debars अत् ॥ Thus समुद्रिः and अभ्रिः, as in समुद्रिया अप्सरसो मनीषि-  
णम् and मानसो अभ्रियत्येव घोषाः ॥ The word 'abhra' being a word of fewer  
syllables than 'samudra' ought to have come first. Its coming as a second  
member is an irregularity.

बर्हिषि दत्तम् ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ बर्हिषि-दत्तम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव इति निवृत्तम् । बर्हिः षष्ठास्तप्तमीसमर्थाद्विचिन्तितस्मिन्नर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the  
sense of 'given', after the word 'barhis' in the 7th. case in  
construction.

The anuvṛtti of वत् भवः ceases. Thus बर्हिष्येऽपि निधिषु म्रियेऽपि ॥ R. V. 10. 15 5

दूतस्य भागकर्मणी ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ दूतस्य-भाग-कर्मणी(यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । दूतशब्दात् षष्ठीसमर्थाद्भागे कर्माणि चाभिधेये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after  
the word 'dūta' in the genitive case in construction, in the  
sense of 'its share' or 'its duty.'

Thus दूत्यम् 'the share of a messenger or the work of a messenger'.  
As यत्ते भग्नो दूत्यम् ॥ According to VI. 1. 213, the accent will be दूत्यम्, but the  
accented Text reads दूत्यम् ॥

रक्षोयात्नां हननी ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ रक्षः-यात्नाम्-हननी (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । रक्षःशब्दाद्यानुशब्दाच्च षष्ठीसमर्थाद्धननीत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the  
sense of 'killer', after the words 'raksha' and 'yātu' in the  
sixth case in construction.

That by which anything is killed is called हननी ॥ Thus रक्षस्य and  
यातव्यं meaning 'that which kills the demons called Rakshas and Yātus'. As  
वाते भग्नो रक्षस्या तनः i. e. रक्षसां हननी 'O Agni thy bodies are killers of Rakshas'.  
So यातव्याः तनूः ॥ The word is in the plural as a mark of respect.

रेवतीजगतीहविष्याभ्यः प्रशस्ये ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ रेवती-जगती-हविष्याभ्यः  
प्रशस्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रेवत्यादिभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः प्रशस्ये वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

122. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the  
sense of 'praising' after the words 'revatī', 'jagatī' and  
'havishya' in the 6th case in construction.

The word प्रशस्य means प्रशंसन 'praising, extolling', formed by adding the  
Kṛit affix क्यप् to the root, with the force of भाव or 'condition'. Thus रवत्यर्थे, जगत्यर्थे,

and हविष्यन् 'praising of Revati, Jagatī or Havishya'. The word हविष्यन् is thus formed हविषे हिता = हविष्याः 'things fit for offering' i. e. butter &c, (हविष् + यत् V. I. 4) हविष्यानाम् प्रशंसनं = हविष्यन् (हविष्य + यत् IV. 4. 122 = हविष्य + यत् the final अ being elided by VI. 4. 148 = हविष् + यत् the ष being elided by VIII. 4. 64).

असुरस्य स्वम् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ असुरस्य, स्वम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरस्यस्यास्त्रीसमर्थात्स्वमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति । अजोपवाहः ॥

123. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'property', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars अण् ॥ Thus असुर्यन् 'belonging to the Asuras'. As असुर्ये वा एतन् पात्रं यद्यकधृतं कुलालकृतम् 'this vessel made on a wheel by a potter belongs to the Asuras'. असुर्ये द्वेभिर्भाव्यि विश्वम् ॥ See Maitr S. I. 8. 3

मायायामण् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मायायाम्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असुरस्यस्यास्त्रीसमर्थान्मायायां स्वविद्येवे ऽण् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्व यतोपवाहः ॥

124. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'glamour', after the word 'asura' in the 6th case in construction.

This debars यत् ॥ असुरस्य माया = मासुरः feminine मासुरी ॥ As मासुरी माया स्वभया कृतासि ॥

तद्वानासामुपधानो मन्त्र इतीष्टकासुलुक् च मतोः ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तद्वान्-आसाम्-उपधानः-मन्त्र-इति-इष्टकासु-लुक्-च-मतोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तद्वानिति निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः मनुष्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्प्रथमासमर्थानासामिति वष्टवर्थे व्य-  
ध्ययो भवति । यत्प्रथमासमर्थमुपधानोमन्त्रश्चेत्स भवति । यत्तद्वानिति निर्दिष्टमिष्टकाशेषेणा भवन्ति । लुक्-  
च मतोरिति प्रकृतिनिर्वासः । इतिकरणस्तत्तथेद्विशेषः । तद्वानित्यवयवेन समुदायो व्यपदिश्यते ॥

125. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas, after a nominal stem, in the 1st case in construction, ending with the affix 'inatup', when the sense is "this is their mantra of putting up", provided that, the things put up are bricks: And the affix matup is elided by luk.

This sūtra requires analysis. तद्वान् is formed by adding मनुष् to तद् meaning 'having that', and refers to a noun formed by the affix मनुष् ॥ The word आसाम् is genitive plural fem. of इदं meaning 'of them'; the pronoun refers to the word इष्टका ॥ The word उपधान means 'putting up', and technically means 'used as a Mantra in the putting up of sacrificial bricks, pots &c'. मन्त्र "sacred hymn" इष्टका 'bricks'. The whole sūtra means "the affix 'yat' is used with

the force of a genitive (āsām), after a word which ends with matup (tadvān), and denotes a mantra used in putting up of sacrificial objects; when such mantra refers to bricks: and when this affix yat is added, the affix matup is elided'. Thus वर्चस्वान् is a Mantra containing the word वर्चस् ॥ The bricks put up or collected (उपधीयते) with the recitation of वर्चस्वान् Mantra, will be called वर्चस्य (वर्चस्वत् + यत् = वर्चस् + यत् the affix वत् (मत्) being elided = वर्चस्व, fem वर्चस्या) ॥ Thus वर्चस्या उपधाति 'he collects Varchasya bricks i. e. on which Varchasvān mantra has been pronounced'. So वेजस्य उपधाति ॥ So वयस्य, रेतस्य ॥

Why do we say वद्वान्? The affix is not to be added to the whole Mantra. Why do we say, उपधान 'putting up'? The affix is not to be added to other Mantras such as those used in praying etc. e. g. वर्चस्वानुपस्थान मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानाम्, here there will be no affix. Why do we say Mantra? Observe अंगुलिमानुपधानो हस्त आसाम्, 'these bricks are collected with hand having fingers', here there will be no affix. Why do we say इटकात्? Observe वर्चस्वानुपधानो मन्त्र एषां कपालानाम्, here there will be no affix, the thing collected being potsherds and not bricks.

अश्विमानण् ॥ १२६ ॥ अश्विमान्-अण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अश्विग्रहो अस्मिन्नेति सति सोश्विमान् । अश्विमच्छब्दात् प्रत्ययो भवति । पूर्वस्य यतोपवादः ।

126. The affix अण् comes in the Chhandas, after the words asvimān, to denote bricks put up with the Mantra containing the word Asvin, and the affix matup is elided.

Thus अश्विमानुपधानो मन्त्र आसामिष्टकानां = आश्विनः fem. आश्विनीः ॥ The word is thus formed अश्विमान् + अण् = अश्वि + अण् the matup being elided IV. 4. 125 = अश्विन् + अण् VI. 4. 164 = आश्विन ॥ Thus आश्विनी उपधाति 'he collects Asvin bricks i. e. bricks at the time of collecting which Mantras containing अश्विन् were uttered. See Yajur Veda Tait S. 5. 3. 1. 1.

वयस्यासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ वयस्यासु-मूर्ध्नः-मत्तुप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयस्वानुपधानो मन्त्रो यासां ता वयस्यास्तास्वभिधेयासु मूर्ध्नो मतुप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

127. The affix 'matup' is added in the Chhandas, to the word 'mûrdhanvat', in expressing bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word 'vayas'.

The word वयस्या means the bricks, the Upadhāna mantras of which contain the word वयस् ॥ The affix मत्तुप् debars यत् ॥ A mantra which contains both the word वयस् and मूर्ध्न, that Mantra is both वयस्वान् and मूर्ध्नवान् ॥ Now in denoting sacrificial bricks put up with such a mantra, the affix यत् would have come by IV. 4. 125 after both these words वयस्वान् and मूर्ध्नवान् ॥ The present

sūtra ordains मत्प after मूर्धन्वात् ॥ Thus मूर्धन्वीतीत्यत्राणि 'he collects Mūrdhanvatt bricks'. The words वयस्याः and मूर्धन्वत्यः denote the same object. See VI. 1. 176.

Why do we say वयस्याः? The affix 'matup' will not be added to 'mūrdhan', if the Mantra contains only the word 'mūrdhan' and not 'vayas' also. In that case मूर्धन्याः will be the form, meaning 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the word मूर्धन्', while मूर्धन्वत्यः means 'bricks collected with the Mantra containing the words mūrdhan and vayas'.

The sūtra contains the word मूर्ध्निः ablative singular of मूर्धन् ॥ It ought to have been मूर्धन्वत्यः, for the affix matup is added to मूर्धन्वन्, the वन् being elided then by IV. 4. 125. The author has mentally elided the affix वन्, and shown in the aphorism the last stage of the word to which मत्प is to be added.

मत्वर्थे मासतन्वोः ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मत्वर्थे-मास-तन्वोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यस्मिन्नर्थे मत्पशिहितस्तस्मिच्छन्वसि विषये वयस्यस्यो भवति मासतन्वोः प्रत्ययार्थं विशेषणयोः ।  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मासतन्वोरनन्तर्येण ॥ वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हुगकारेकारेणैव वक्तव्याः ॥

128. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after a word in the first case in construction, the word so formed meaning a month or a body.

This debars the affix मत्प and those having the sense of मत्प ॥ Thus नभांसि विद्यन्ते यस्मिन् मासे = नमस्यः 'the month of clouds' i. e. June-July. So also सहस्यः, तपस्यः नधस्यः, being the names of the months Pausa (Nov-Dec), Phalguna (Feb-March) and Vaisākha (April-May). The word नधस्यः is thus formed:--मधु + यत् = नधा + यत् (VI. 4. 146) = नधस्यः (VI. 1. 79) 'the month of honey'. Similarly शोऽस्य तन्वुः 'the bodies full of vigour'.

Why do we say "in denoting a month or a body"? Observe मधुमत्ता पात्रेण चरति, here मत्प is used.

Vart :—The affix क्त is optionally employed when the sense is 'immediately after'. As नयस्मिन्नस्ति नयस्मिन्नन्तरमिति वा = नयस्यः or नयवी मासः ॥

Vart :—Sometimes the affix is elided, and sometimes the letters अ, इ and ए serve the same purpose as this affix. Thus तपः or तपस्यः, नमस् or नमस्यः, सहस् or सहस्यः, all in the neuter gender in the Chhandas. Sometimes अ serves the same purpose, e. g. इषो मासः, ऊर्जोमासः ॥ Sometimes इ, as शुचिर्मासः. Sometimes ए e. g. शुक्रो मासः ॥

मधोर्ज च ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मधोः-अ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मधुप्राधान्यमत्वर्थे अः प्रत्ययो भवति अकाण्यश्च ॥

129. The affix अ as well as यत् comes with the force of matup, in the Chhandas, after the word मधु ॥

Thus माष्वः or मष्वः ॥ Sometimes the affix is elided, as मषुः, all these mean the month of Vaisākha. So also माषवाः, मष्व्या and मषुः meaning तनुः or body.

ओजसो ऽहनि यत्सौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ओजसः-अहनि-यत्-सौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । ओजः शब्दान्मत्वर्थे यत्सौ प्रत्ययौ भवतोऽहन्यभिधेये ॥

130. The affixes यत् and सौ come with the force of matup, after the word 'ojas', when a day is meant.

Thus ओजस्यम् or ओजसूनि = अहः 'the day' lit. full of heat.

वेशोयशआदेर्भगाद्यल् ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वेशः-यशः-आदेः-भगात्-यल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थइत्येव । वेशोवशसी भारौ यस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य तस्माद्वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्ताध्यातिपदिकान्त्वर्थे यल् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

131. The affix यल् comes in the Chhandas, with the force of matup, after the word bhaga, having the words 'vesas' or 'yasas' in the beginning.

The सू of यल् shows that the accent falls on the vowel preceding the affix (VI. 1. 193). Thus वेशोभगो विद्यते यस्य स = वेशोर्भग्यः 'strong-fortune' so also यशोर्भग्यः 'famous-fortune'. The word वेश means 'strength': भग means 'fortune, desire, effort, greatness, virility and fame.' The word वेशोभगः may be taken as a Dvandva compound of वेशस् 'force' and भगः 'fortune.' The word वेशोभग्यः would then mean 'possessed of power and fortune'.

ख च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ख-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वेशोयशआदेर्भगान्ताध्यातिपदिकान्त्वर्थे खः प्रत्ययौ भवति । योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिपत्तार्थ इत्तपर्यम् । अकाराद्यल् ॥

132. The affix ख also comes after the words 'vesobhaga' and 'yasobhaga', in the Chhandas, with the force of matup.

Thus वेशोभगीनः and यशोभगीनः ॥ This sūtra has been separated from last in order to prevent the application of the यथासंख्य rule (I. 3. 10). For had the sūtra been वेशोयश आदेर्भगाद् यल्सौ, as it occurs in Siddhanta Kaumudi, then the affix यल् would apply to वेशोभग, and the affix ख to यशोभगः which is not what is intended. Another reason for making it a distinct aphorism is that the anuvṛtti of ख runs in the next sūtra, not so of यल् ॥

पूर्वेः कृतमिनयो च ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वेः-कृत-इन-यो-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थ इति निवृत्तम् । निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । पूर्वशाब्दाद् हृतीयासमर्थाकृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे इन य इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः । अकाराद्यल् च ॥



133. The affixes इन् and य् as well as ख् come in the sense of 'made by them', after the word 'purva' (forefathers) in the Instrumental case in construction.

The ख् is read into the sūtra by force of the word य्; the anuvṛitti of मत्वर्थ ceases. Thus पूर्वैः कृतं = पूर्वजिनः 'made by the ancestors' i.e. a road. So also पूर्व्यः and पूर्वाजिनः ॥ The word पूर्वैः in the plural means पूर्वपुरुषाः "past generations, ancestors". These words occur generally in the plural, and mean "roads widened by the forefathers". Thus गम्भीरेभिः पथिभिः पूर्वजिभिः ॥ So also, वे ते पन्थाः सविताः पूर्वांसः ( Rig I. 35. 11 ) Another reading of this sūtra is पूर्वैः कृतमिनीयौच; the affixes then will be इनि (इन्), and य्; and ख् will be drawn in by virtue of य् ॥ The examples then will be पूर्वैः; 3rd pl. पूर्वजिभिः (with इन्), as पथिभिः पूर्वाजिभिः, or पूर्वजिभिः (ख्), or पूर्व्यैः (य्) ॥

अङ्गिः संस्कृतम् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अङ्गिः-संस्कृतम् (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । अप्रचक्ष्णात्पुतीयासमर्थान् संस्कृतमित्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas in the sense of 'sanctified', after the word 'apas' in the 3rd case in construction.

Thus अयत् 'offering purified with water'. As यत्प्रेतमयत् इति ॥ The case of construction is indicated in the sūtra itself.

सहस्रेण संमितौ घः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहस्रेण-संमितौ-घ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सहस्रचक्ष्णात्पुतीयासमर्थान् संमितौ इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas, in the sense of 'like', after the word 'sahasra'; in the 3rd case in construction.

The case of construction is indicated by the sūtra. Thus सहस्रेण संमितः = सहस्रियः 'like unto thousand'. As in the following verse:—सहस्रिणासोऽर्षा नोर्म-  
यः ॥ अयमग्निः सहस्रियः The word संमित means तुल्य 'equal to'. Some read the word संमित instead of सम्मित, but the meaning will be the same.

मतौ च ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मतौ-च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मत्वर्थे च सहस्रचक्ष्णात् यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas with the force of matup, after the word 'sahasra'.

As सहस्रयस्य विद्यते = सहस्रियः ॥ This debarb the मत्वर्थ affixes विनि and इनि and अण् of V. 2. 102 and 103.

सोममर्हति यः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमम्-अर्हति-यः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निर्देशादेव समर्थविभक्तिः । सोमचक्ष्णात्पुतीयासमर्थान् अर्हति इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', in the second case in construction, when the sense is that of 'who deserves that'.

Thus सोममर्हन्ति = सोम्या ब्राह्मणाः "The Brāhmaṇas who deserve Soma" i. e. honorable and learned, and worthy of performing sacrifices. The difference between यत् and य is in accent.

मये च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मये-च (य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोममर्हन्, ब्रह्मामर्हन्ते । मय इति मयदर्थो लभ्यते । सोमघञ्दान्मयदर्थे यः प्रत्ययो भवति । आगतविकारपञ्चमप्रकृता मयदर्था ॥

138. The affix य comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'Soma', with the force of the affix mayat.

The force of the affix मयद् is that of ततः आगतः (IV. 3. 74 and 82), त्वकापञ्चय (IV. 3. 134 and 143) and प्रकृत (V. 4. 21). The case in construction will vary according to the sense. Thus सोम्यं मधुः पिबन्ति = सोममयः मधुः ॥

मयोः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मयोः (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यद्यभ्यो निवृत्तः । मधुघञ्दान्मयदर्थे यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix यद् comes in the Chhandas, after the word 'madhu', with the force of the affix mayat.

Thus मध्व्यान् स्तोकान् = मधुमयान् ॥

वसोः समूहे च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वसोः-समूहे, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वसुघञ्दान्समूहे वाच्ये यत्प्रत्ययो भवति चकापञ्चयदर्थे च । यथायोगं समर्थविभक्तिः ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ भस्त्रसमूहे छन्दसः स्वार्थदपसंख्यानम् ॥ वा० ॥ वसुघञ्दानि यद्भक्त्यः ॥

140. The affix यत् comes in the Chhandas after the word 'vasu', when a collection is meant, as well as with the force of mayat.

Thus वसव्यः = समूहः 'a collection'.

Vart.—The affix 'yat' comes without changing the sense, after the word छन्दस् when reference is made to the collection of letters. Thus the word छन्दस् in the following sentence: "सप्ताक्षराश्च छन्दस्यः प्रजापतिवशो मन्त्रे विहिता". The 17 letters here referred to being ओ आवय, four; अस्तु औषद्, four; वज्र, two; ऐ वजा-नहे five; and वषट् two ॥

Vart.—The affix यत् comes after वसु without changing the sense. As वसो वसुमिव वसुभिर्वसव्यैः ॥ Here वसव्यैः is equal to वसुभिः ॥ Similarly अग्निरीशे वसव्यस्व = वसोः ॥

नक्षत्राद् घः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नक्षत्राद्, घः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्षत्रघञ्दान् प्रत्ययो भवति स्वार्थे ॥

141. The affix 'gha' comes in the Chhandas after the word 'nakshatra', without altering the meaning.

The anuvṛtti of समूह does not extend to this sūtra. Thus नक्षत्रिभ्यः स्वाहा = नक्षत्रिभ्यः स्वाहा ॥

सर्वदेवास्तात्तिल् ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व, देवात्, तात्तिल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वदेवशब्दाभ्यां तात्तिल् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये स्वार्थिकः ॥

142. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas after the words 'sarva' and 'deva', without altering the meaning.

As सर्वतातिः and देवतातिः in the following hymns : "सविता नः सुवतु सर्वताविव and प्रसिषिदेवतातिर्गुणः ॥

शिवशममरिष्टस्य करे ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिव, शम, मरिष्टस्य, करे (तात्तिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतीति करः प्रत्ययार्थः । तस्मात्तत्तिल्-या षष्ठी समर्थविभक्तिः । शिवादिभ्यः शब्देभ्यः षष्ठीसमर्थेभ्यः कर इत्येतस्मिन्नर्थे तात्तिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix 'tâtil' comes, in the Chhandas, after the word 'siva', 'sam', and 'arishṭa' in the sixth case in construction when the sense is 'he 'does'.

The word करः is equivalent to करोति formed by कृच् (III. 1. 134)

This shows that the construction must be genitive. With a kṛit-formed word, it has accusative force, as, शिवस्य करः = शिवं करोति ॥

Thus शिवस्य करः = शिवतातिः, So संतातिः and मरिष्टतातिः ॥ As द्वाग्निः छन्ताग्नी भवयो द्वागुषे (Rig I. 112. 20) संताग्नी being dual of छन्तातिः, and meaning मुखस्य कर्ताग्निः; so also अयो मरिष्टतात्तिल् ॥

भावे च ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे-च (तात्तिल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे चार्थे छन्दसि विषये शिवादिभ्यस्तात्तिल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix 'tâtil' comes in the Chhandas, after the words 'siva', 'sam' and 'arishṭa', being in the 6th case in construction, the sense being that of condition.

Thus शिवस्य भावः = शिवतातिः 'the condition of blissfulness'. छन्तातिः 'the state of happiness or peace', मरिष्टतातिः ॥ Here these words have the force of Verba] nouns.